

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOL. XX. No. 2.

APRIL, 1928

VILLAGE LIFE IN THE HIGH EASTERN PYRENEES: being
Notes on a record of enquiries made by the Social Studies Group
of the Leplay House Tours Association party in the High Pyrenees,
August, 1927: Edited by Dr. Arthur Geddes, Group Leader.

CONSPECTUS.

A VALLEY Described—Limited Possibilities of Agricultural Conditions and Poverty—Direct Social Consequence, Seasonal Migration—Past Faithfulness to Mountain Home—Recent Changes—Root Causes of Present Depopulation, Urban and Industrial Expansion—Corn Land Values and Pasture and Common Land Disputes—The Emigrant No Longer Returns—The Ancient Village Life, its qualities and defects: its strength, neighbourliness and continuity of subconscious life, its drawbacks, lack of initiative, superstition and feudal bondage—The Republican Claim, Freedom and Education—Education (Personal life)—Mairie and School and Regiment (Social life)—Alternatives, Modern Community Type in the Plains—The Past and Possibilities.

I. PREFATORY NOTE.

IN the following paper we have discussed the enquiries and conclusions of a sociological nature made in August, 1927, in the upper valleys of the rivers Aude, Ariège and Tet. While some days of our tour were frankly devoted to holiday rambling, the days and hours of study were given partly to seeing on the spot what the country showed or what writers had described of natural science, of history or of life among the mountaineers in recent times, and partly to observation of, and enquiry into, unwritten facts. Though too rudimentary to be called "research," our social enquiries have been assembled here as an attempt to discover and state some of the essential facts of folk life of which we could find no adequate record, still less a discerning commentary. Everywhere, however, we found people who understood our interest in their country, considering it after all natural and human that we should share the interest they had in it themselves. Personally, we were specially fortunate in having the opportunity of discussing the points brought forward here, after the party had broken up, with French friends who knew the conditions of life in the Easterly Pyrenees from a life-time's experience of their agricultural or industrial populations. So that, though the Leplay

House group,* and the present writer in particular, is responsible for the conclusions here suggested, the reader may be assured they have not been put down without having been discussed and reviewed, and modified with men and women who knew the conditions of the regions we have described.

II.

IN such "regional survey" as time allowed, special attention was focussed on one small unit-region. This helped to give a certain measure of accuracy and concreteness and supply a basis for comparison, and in so doing, it allowed freedom elsewhere. No attempt is made here, however, to give a detailed record of the geographic conditions which underlie the general tendencies discussed below. An outline survey of the human geography of the region should, and did precede this study, and it will, I trust, be published in the July number of the SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE. Circumstances have dictated what is really a wrong order of publication. Not only is a geographic "basis" necessary for social studies; the interplay of workers with their environment will reveal much of the people's relations to one another, and its study will be the first step to understanding these. The points touched in our study of the region as a whole included:

- (1) the exploitation of agricultural, pastoral and forestry resources, local industries, communications;
- (2) habitations, village sites and domestic ways;
- (3) population, with
- (4) an attempt to interpret the actual situation by historic notes, with special emphasis on recent history, *e.g.*, on local outbreaks in the Revolution of 1848, significant in regional life;
- (5) Finally, in this study we have discussed what we could notice or learn of social customs as indices of social life and its trend.

THE real difficulty of pursuing "social studies" during a brief acquaintance with country people, especially without preliminary introduction, is, of course, that one has to begin enquiries with questions about external facts of soil, labour rights, &c., and in so doing, gather what one can of the truth about social life in household and village. Naturally, too, one must depend a good deal on the conclusions of educated people to whom travel and books have given means of comparison and general statement, such as schoolmaster, priest or doctor; employer or larger farmer. Yet even here, the fact of having directly

*Among the collaborators in the study were: Miss E. M. Coulthard, Miss Lennie, Miss Lodge, Miles S. and L. Fontvieille, Miss M. Tatton and Mr. W. S. Armour. I wish to thank my hosts, M. and Mme. M. Segond, for their comments while I was in the Ariège, and M. and Mme. Charles Rives Aude for their invaluable help in criticisms and suggestions born of life-long knowledge of the land.—A.G.

observed fundamentals of life—of daily labour and yearly calendar, make it possible to enquire further into questions of social character and relate these with the necessities of labour and livelihood.

OUR first enquiries were naturally turned to agricultural conditions. We found that somewhat different opinions and conflicting evidence were put forward by the peasants as to the possibilities of agricultural improvement, better livelihood and continued population, and they point to the fact that the place is on the border line between extreme poverty and a livelihood. To take as example a commune studied in detail, Rouze in the upper valley of the Aude. The village lands with their terraces from 850 metres to 1,000 metres or so, have not reached the height at which cultivation becomes impossible. Near Mont Louis cultivation is still carried on up to 1,600 metres, or 5,000 feet above sea-level, though at a sunnier, less wind-swept place chosen as a health resort. At the same time frosts were a danger to crops and to fruit trees which might have flourished but for this. Again, the terracing at Rouze diminishes the steepness of the slope, yet in areas too small to make carting easy or the management of machines a possibility. The rainfall and its seasonal distribution is just enough to make irrigation unnecessary in good years, yet in dry summers the crops suffer from lack of it. There are summer pastures, but winter fodder is a difficulty. The rocks are well enough covered in places, but the soil even there is "*lean*," as the peasants say, and poor. Lastly, the short summer is the main earning time (or food-winning time), while in the winter months little can be done in the fields, and the higher villages of its canton are quite snow-bound. Yet forestry is backward and no industry worth speaking now gives winter employment, save from the 18th century when up till 1850, one or two *forges catalanes*, primitive iron furnaces, gave much employment.

THIS summary of one valley midway in the region we saw may serve for comparison with the country on either side of it, if we remember that, westwards towards the Atlantic, the country becomes increasingly moist and green, and that eastwards, towards the Mediterranean, it becomes more and more arid. From a viewpoint on the lower valley of the eastward flowing Tet, we could see the hills to the west patched with masses of green forest and scrub: to the east the hills were increasingly bare till the limestone foothills that overlook the Gulf of Lyons showed white through their thin covering of vegetation. There was a sharp contrast of stone and colour at the line of the irrigation channels, below which the fields were a vivid green. In these valleys, however, altitude, exposure, slope and soil played their parts in favouring or in crippling agriculture.

IN face of difficulties such as these some outside resource is necessary and historically has generally been so, especially after bad seasons

of frost, flood or drought. The precarious equilibrium of nature is reflected in the social life that has grown up in it. For centuries there has been seasonal migration to the vineyards of the plain at the cost of interruption of family life. The employment offered in the plains is somewhat uncertain and must always have been so. So long as their homes and the centre of their life lay elsewhere the mountaineers could be little more than mere labourers when in the plain.

IN view of these facts, mere ignorance of life in the plains cannot explain the long faithfulness of the mountaineers to their native villages, so unshaken till recently, so evident even now among many. For, as we have said, seasonal migration is an old story, and the "isolation" of the villages did not mean that the people were untravelled; they knew far more of other places than most plainsmen. At the same time, though the people as individuals regularly left the village, the community which they composed remained wonderfully unchanged, partly "fixed" by the unchanging framework of nature, partly dominated by memory, loyalty and a habit of mind that clung about the village and the valley. Moreover, in the past the communities of the plain, rural and urban, must also have been fairly fixed, and could not or would not readily expand to admit outsiders from the mountains. There was also a usage which to some extent survives to this day, that of arranging to emigrate as a group, as a family, brothers, sisters, cousins, for the vendanges, or as a gang of men for season work or the like. In spite of the long contact of mountaineers, as individuals, with the outside world, there was little inter-penetration. Thus in the past, the hill communities remained unbroken and bound their members together.

BREAKING in upon long-established custom, came the changes of modern times. First the political revolution broke up the social and economic fixity of every community. Following the political came the industrial revolution, a much more recent affair in France. Urban activity and wealth reacted not only directly as a demand for labour from the mountains, but indirectly by increased prices offered for produce and for labour in the agricultural plain. Till about 1860-65, population in many districts increased and wealth with it, as the buildings show, probably due in part to the working of the *forges catalanes*, up to 1850, at least, and also to the seasonal emigrants bringing back more wages. After this the population halts and sinks, slowly at first, and much more rapidly since about 1900, so that in the Donnezan, for instance, it now numbers half what it did thirty years ago. At first the decrease seems to have been directly due to emigration; now it is also due to the diminished size of families among those few who stay.

THE root cause of the present changes is the demand for labour and the offer of a livelihood with short hours and lighter work in industry,

commerce, &c., in town, and of better, easier farming in the plains. The expansion of French industry both before and after the war is immense, as was evident even on our rapid journey, from the number of new factories we saw round Paris and Toulouse, and the great areas of jerry-building and new *lotissements*. Urban industry is not only a "direct" attraction, but draws, as by a slow suction, the people of the High Pyrenees down to the foothills, the peasants of these to the plain and the plainsmen to Toulouse, just as Paris, in its turn, draws to it the townsfolk of Toulouse. Several instances were quoted to us of families in which each generation had taken one such step at a time.

III.

LIFE in the hills, which has always been difficult, is still almost as difficult as ever, for the reasons we have given. Communications are not sufficient to help, for, though the old-fashioned corn and food growing for home consumption has diminished, it has not been replaced by commercial production on any extended scale. A few potatoes are sold, but not very much else. The chief economic difference is that the cattle and fat calves sold fetch much higher prices since the war than ever before. This is a difference in degree, however, not a new feature, since it has always been possible to sell a surplus, if any, since cattle can be walked across hills and passes to the market.

BUT while the value even of the best land in the hills has for sixty years remained stationary, in the plain values have risen many times. Increased markets and increased communications to them have led to higher prices, while scientific agriculture and machinery have lessened labour. Thus arable land in the plains has increased both in value and in working facility, while in the hills it is almost as difficult to work as it was sixty years ago, and its products being limited to what is consumed at home have no greater value than formerly. What of pastures and forests?

MUCH rough pasture and coppice round the villages were granted to the communes of France at the Revolution, often with woods of considerable extent and mountain summer pastures above. Along with these, communal powers were granted, to be administered by an elected *maire* and council. But simultaneously revolutionary teaching and preaching began to break up old communal customs and community life without "prevision" of any new progressive form of co-operation. Hence the communes of the poorer regions of France, though often potentially rich in area of land, have generally remained poor in resources, and their forests have largely been wasted, not cared for and developed, through disagreement among individuals and lack of co-ordinated aims. In the best natural conditions with skill and care forestry needs hard work to pay, without these it cannot thrive.

In the Donnezan (Upper Aude Valley), for instance, the State Forest Department and the Communes have been quarrelling about their respective rights over open land for a hundred years. The people were incensed that waste lands which were allowed to be village property for some time after the Revolution were resumed by the State during the reactionary régime that formed the strict forest code of 1827. The feeling which flared into armed insurrection in 1848 is still sore on the point; there is an unsettled law-suit between the Forestry Department and the Communes, and there is constant *chicane* between the State forester and the peasant, so that the woods and forest suffer. Thus neither pasture land nor forest give what they should, and the potential resources of the hills are of little use. Hence the mountaineer is forced to turn his steps plainwards, and there he finds much that entices him to stay.

BESIDES the economic advantages offered by the large towns, their shops and amusements, of course, attract the people, like those of the now frequent fairs of the little towns in the lower Pyrenees. But higher wages and short hours, with the hope of advancement or the certainty of a pension, are the main reasons which bring so many hill men to emigrate to the towns, rather than to the villages of the foothills and the plains, where land may now be had. This is not the place to enter more fully into the detail of the "economic" causes of emigration. Recognising their fundamental and major importance, we wish here to go on to consider social factors and their effects.

WHETHER the mountain emigrant leaves his village for the towns or for the rural plain, the significant thing is that, to-day, having once left home, instead of returning to it as often and as soon as he could, he stays away. At first he comes back on visits, sometimes yearly, if not too far away, sometimes every few years. The emigrant generally comes home for the village *fête* in early autumn. Here he can meet others who have returned like himself to dance and enjoy themselves and perhaps to choose a wife. Later on his children may be sent up for a holiday, but as he ages he thinks less and less of the village; the old people die off, the comrades are forgotten, he has made his life elsewhere. The town is a centre of attraction, the rich flat fields of the plain draw, too; not only so, the mountain is a "centre of dispersion." Formerly the mountain village drew its people back to it sooner or later; it no longer has the power.

WE pointed out that formerly many of the men of a mountain community scattered yearly as individuals or as tiny groups, but were drawn homewards by the strength of their bond to the home community, and also that this was the more possible since there was no strong corporate attraction anywhere else, rather the reverse. There is still little corporate attraction (for even Trade Unions are not Guilds)

—yet now the mountaineer leaves his village not only from calculation of gains or comfort, but also in part, because his whole attitude to life and to his fellows has altered with the times.

WHAT were the strength of the tie to the village and the attraction of mountain life in former times? Given subsistence, they seem to have sprung from a measure of satisfaction in the social life it offered for all and in the feeling one had towards the seasonal round of work it offered. To our thinking, social life in the country consists, in labour, of mutual aid in work and in difficulties and, in leisure, of mutual entertainment by all, and the pleasure of self-expression which this gives to each. Labour in the fields or herding on the pastures, since much of it is solitary, must, if it is to be something other than servitude, be attuned to the place and timed to the rhythm of its toil, of the slow, steady step that suits a burden and of the beasts and their slow ways, and to the changes of days and seasons. Some of the older people we met still enjoyed, or had known, such social life and still felt such satisfaction in the tenor of their working life.

IF such was the strength of society and of personal life in former times, wherein lay its weakness? Though community life was helpful to all in customary service and in rejoicing, it seems to have discouraged initiative of conduct and of thought. Though the old teaching and tradition enriched memory and stored the mind with much that was saintly, wise and fair, they had another side. They discouraged steady clear-minded investigation of growth and breeding in crop or stock, inhibited invention, and suppressed thought which might have reordered work and eased the round of daily and seasonal life. "What worked," even with difficulty or pain, went on unimproved—ploughing, seedtime or harvest, marriage, birth and all folk-ways. What went awry—tempest or drought, sickness in man or beast, disorder of mind in age or loneliness, could not be understood, still less encountered open-eyed. From unreasoning hopes and fears entered superstition, veering from fatalistic to miraculous. So these two great factors, fixation and superstition, took hold of the community both in the personal lives of the people living much in the subconscious and in the life they made in common.

ANOTHER great source of weakness of the agricultural or pastoral communities was that they had no sufficient means to defend themselves from aggression—and also to say truth, to prevent their more lawless members from aggression on neighbouring communities in times of hunger, or simply when "the hot blood stirred." Hence these fell a prey to the founders of the feudal lordships who ruled over them for centuries, till they degenerated into the seigneurs of the latter *ancien régime*. Since the Revolution republicanism claims to be the saviour of the community from this dual bondage to the lords and

to the ancient routine and spiritual darkness. The first republic having replaced the lords by its representation and administration, the third republic having undertaken universal education.

THIS claim of liberation from old bondage is undeniable: republican France has given the communes liberty. How far has the substitution of a new régime been a success? The reorganisation of the communes has been only partially successful, as we saw in the test case of its communal lands. We have still to consider its education, and here, since we are dealing with a feature universal throughout France, our description might apply to any village—with the reservation that here and there are schools run by the church; of these, however, we saw no example on our tour.

IV.

THE type school, the *école unique*, as it has existed till recently, claims to drill the children of France to think alike, abolishing regional differences, whether qualities or defects, it matters not. That is, its method and aims were not only psychological but had a direct social bearing. It manufactured from each succeeding crop of school children a group different from the old village dwellers: yet that group was without any practice or experience of social discipline among its members. The relations of pupil to pupil involved no duties of mutual aid; indeed, the best use the code could make of their direct relations to each other was to increase competition.

IN form the model school is a square, ugly, town-designed building standing beside a small section, not of a field or garden, but of an urban roadway, which is called a "playground"; in other words, building and open space represent a little model of town milieu. Attached to it, often above it, is the mairie. There, the *maire* and *conseil municipal* represent politics with its discussions and its periodic outbursts of electioneering excitement and, too often, of scurrilous abuse. Of course a vigorous *maire* or *maire-adjoint* has considerable independence and authority, and there are many maires who use their opportunity to the very finest purpose. As yet, however, the best we have seen have not generally been men of peasant birth, and one feels that real worth is sufficiently common among the peasants of France to allow of a higher standard of representation and of communal action than is as yet generally found.

IN the mairie the schoolmaster, who acts as secretary of the commune when not at school, represents bureaucracy and its unchanging dulness of routine and lifeless communication of files and statistics, recording by its cyphers the decay of the village—a lifeless condemnation of its own lifelessness. At the same time this faithful record of facts not only has uses to the State, but is sometimes deeply thought over and

understood by their recorder, and the schoolmaster-secretary, with his hand on the village pulse, is the better fitted to interpret the pulse of the region and the country to his fellow-villagers.

IN the background of the mairie, as political figure, is the Café; behind the schoolmaster as "secrétaire" is the *bureau de tabac* and post office, in the largest villages the office of Monsieur le Percepteur, the tax collector. So, if the country boy went to town he hoped to be a *fonctionnaire*, if not, then to have a *petit commerce*, and failing that he became a factory hand or *manœuvre*, for, if not trained to industry, he is at least trained to live in town as against country. The direct relation of school to field, or pasture to growing plant, flower or beast, to smithy, workshop or mill, is not evident, the link with home is not to be seen at all.*

AT twelve or thirteen the brightest boys are sent off to a lycée, in which the country lads are *interned*, to adapt the official term. The duller or less bookish boys leave school. Those who are intended or anxious for town occupation or trade cannot easily enter this, for conscription will be a serious interruption. Probably the boy stayed at home till he was of "military age," with little further educational opportunity at hand. At nineteen the boy is thrust into a totally new community, "the regiment." Fear of invasion is, of course, the justification given for the making of a military machine at whatever cost in manhood or morale, but the provincial separatism of ancient France with its many tongues is a further justification for the uniformity it imposes. There is no doubt of the deliberate effort to form boys of all sorts into one mould and uniform way of thinking—or not thinking. Here and there is spontaneous companionship, or one finds an officer who seeks to raise the morale of his men. Nevertheless, the system and its effects are best described by the Frenchman's word for them—*abrutissant*, "brutifying." There is an utter absence of opportunity for spontaneous community making. There is no personal responsibility, save for the few who become N.C.O.'s; except in war, the young working man can hardly ever become an officer. The greatest change since pre-war days is, of course, the reduction of the conscription period by one-third. For the future the only hope, of course, is peace based on international understanding—a state that, amongst other things, has much to do with inter-regional understanding within frontiers, as well as across them.

His military service over, the youth comes home and, possibly after some months of uncertainty, takes up the course that will decide his life, nowadays most often leaving home.

*The church is described, not without some justification, as a thing of the past, and the local church accordingly tends to become a ruin, or exceptionally is classed as a *monument historique*. The republican institutions of café and mairie, however, seem inadequate to fill its place.

TIMES are changing, though the ship cannot at once be put about by a turn of the wheel, rural interests are winning attention. For some time past nature study and agriculture have been a recognised part of the school curriculum; text books are provided on the geography, history and economics of the department and some local study sanctioned, matters on which the schoolmaster-sécretaire, often a native, is peculiarly competent. Till recently such curricula seem to have remained altogether bookish. I am indebted to the friends I have spoken of for an account of important advances. In some places schoolmasters have with their pupils begun experiments on crops and manures suitable for the country, its soil and climate, the selection of seeds, and so on. They have set afoot *mutuelles scolaires*, such as friendly societies and lending libraries. In most villages of France there are adult continuation classes for all ages. Sports clubs for the young men are springing up, and associations of former pupils for the girls. "Every means is taken to prevent the young people from leaving the country for the town, above all by awakening the spirit of solidarity and *l'amour du pays*. Or, if they must leave, as is the case in the mountains, they are well prepared to know and help each other in the distant cities."

SUCH beginnings are of immense significance, for an education which shuts the mind to country sights and country pleasures, and above all distrained from country work, took away all that could alleviate the hardship and the seasonal alternation of excessive toil with relative idleness of old-fashioned country life, especially in the mountains. The feeling of hardship in the country increases as the people lose the old habits of mind which helped them to face long laborious days of monotonous field work, or undertake weeks of herding in the hills without loneliness. In former times sociable ways and the habit of self-expression in song or dance helped to make the leisure of long winter evenings something to look forward to during the rest of the year, instead of dreaded for their appalling dullness, as now.

V.

No doubt in listening to old folks' stories much must be allowed for, the imagination that colours the past and the fatigue that dims the present and darkens the future in their eyes. In some of the poorest parts we visited there was little sign of tradition of the art of life, even of song, that may be the wealth of the poorest, let alone of costume or of art in home or church, and there it was not possible to judge of what had been. From other valleys we visited, however, perhaps not so severe in climate or poor in soil, perhaps with a more fortunate history, we saw costumed dances and heard songs full of stately joy, of merriment, of music. Dance and song told both of labour and love-making; solo and chorus expressed the unfolding

of personality rooted in vivid social life. Those we witnessed, being at a fête, told nothing of mountain tragedy, of flood and storm, of wearying toil, of separation, of hunger and cold—all of them things that find expression more rarely, since they stifle, with life itself, the voice of life. Something of all this showed itself in the lined countenances of the older people, and was never quite hidden even in their most uproarious jollity. The real wonder of the joy these villagers gave to all who heard and saw them, lay in the knowledge that only courage, sweetness and strength of life, could bring it forth.

OTHER village fêtes of modern type we saw were very different in form and spirit. In the traditional dancing we had seen, the alternation of round dances with dancing in couples characterises the older forms, and this again with joyous steps where each danced free, and also the dancing of men together and of women together. The modern dancing, of course, was all by couples alone, and seemingly rather joyless at that. The quiet step, or the leap and spring, of the old dances had given way to a clumsy shuffle that had neither the grace of the old ways, nor the smoothness of the city ballroom dancing it sought to imitate. As for the instrumental music, the less said the better; song had almost ceased. Personally, we have no sympathy with those who decry "modern dancing," in dancing in couples and its most modern forms, say, of the last ten or twenty years, for at its best the very simplicity of its form allows of great subtlety of variation, and of mutual adaptation in the movement of the dancers, even in the English-speaking world, where time is by the metronome. Modern dancing probably has its place in the evolution of the dance, that great and primitive art of human rejoicing, because of these elements of value and beauty which one feels especially when the dance is performed to fitting music. At the same time, whatever be said for its qualities, it seems to us tragically symptomatic that all round dances, choric and social in essence, yet full of personality, too, should be ousted by the dances of to-day with their eternal *égoïsme à deux*. Surely, sanity will restore and develop the older forms, as many, indeed, in the hills and plains of France are seeking to do. The new and old at their best, each answering to human need, can live in a natural rhythm of alternation, like the reels and modern dances of any Scottish dancing evening for a century past. If harmony of ancient and modern be possible in the dance, though this can only be where each has elements of beauty that can complement each other, such harmony should be possible for the other arts of the muses of which we have taken dancing as one.

A DISCUSSION of dancing at such a length in a paper which began with rural economics may seem out of place in a sociological journal with a reputation to maintain. At the same time, in a faithful description of the anthropology of the peoples, say, of some equatorial island,

an account of their method of gathering yams, might be followed with perfect propriety (scientifically speaking, at least) by a brief account and discussion of tribal dancing; both would be needed for a comprehensive picture of their "culture." There is much to be said for adapting to the study of European nations, methods that have proved useful in the study of simpler peoples.

VI.

As everywhere, the home-staying men strike one as much the same type as their women folk, but it is otherwise for the men who are emigrant. Again and again through a village, and in individual instances, we were struck by the look of roughness, of dissipation, or of cynicism among younger men home after absence, in contrast with the frank, warm expression of women their own age.

It is one of the advantages of mountain villages that they have remained so far removed from many of the corrupting influences of civilisation. It is one of their cruel disadvantages that, for lack of corn land, its men have had to go so much away in youth and so, cast far from home, have had no shelter and no human compensation to save them from the demoralisation of life as navvies, and labourers, unskilled or semi-skilled workmen, itinerant masons, soldiers or police. It is at the village fêtes in August that one sees this most strikingly, for then the young emigrants return. Though many are fine fellows, a few even refined by education and disciplined by city life, still, the spoiled natures of many clouded their expressions, while the faces of the young women shone with good humour, kindness and even loveliness; those of the older women and sometimes of the older men with distinction, depth and purity of character. Is it too much to say that the mountain villages owe their strength and virtue mainly to their womenfolk? Perhaps under the circumstances it could hardly be otherwise.

IN our comparisons of past and present we seem mainly to have criticised the existing state and trend of things. What would we have instead? No emigration, and a struggle to make the best of poor soil for one generation more? or alternatively, increasingly seasonal emigration in spite of the lack of stability and skill that this implies, and the frequent break-up of family life? Either, even if they were possible, would be unsatisfactory. So much toil and skill have already been given to terracing and irrigating the slopes, that improvement is difficult in agriculture. Indeed, to modern eyes much of it seems now to be labour in vain. The wealth to be had from pasture and forestry is very limited. In some parts mining is an increasing resource for the hill men, as water power is developed, giving electricity for exploitation and transport, but in others there is little ore. It is

difficult to see how manufacture can be developed. The very steepness of the northern face of the Pyrenees, which gives the rapid fall that makes easy the generation of power, means that from the sources of power to the towns of the foothills or the plain the distance is short, so that it is easier to take the power there than establish factories among the hills. We have spoken of what seemed to us the urban bias of the schools; yet had a better rural education been given it must be owned that a still greater proportion of agriculturally-minded hill people might have sought land near the plains or in them, leaving their village as surely as those who aimed for the trades and professions. Indeed, those who settle down to agriculture elsewhere are also those least able to return on visits to the home village, since the care of animals allows no convenient "leave" or holiday for either man or wife. Clearly, considerable depopulation is the only imaginable solution for the present over-population of a land where life is so hard and resources are so few.

OUR one regret is that with the real advantages of the plains, so attractive even to people in some ways so ill-equipped as the mountaineers, there has gone on the break-up of community life in the villages of the mountains. Hence the mountaineers, arriving in the plains where they were strangers, have had no home to return to. This is, no doubt, universal in this financial-industrial age, and part of its curse; with "the mobility of labour" there has yet to evolve a "mobility of society." Yet we have grown so accustomed, so callous, to this fact, that it strikes one with greatest force in the hills, where the results have been slowest to appear, where loyalty to home and neighbourhood is the more evident from the very struggle it entails, and where the dispersal from the village, though late to set in, is now the most rapid and the most poignant.

VII.

SUMMING up, then, the survey of the land in the main bore out our first impression of its poverty, and confirmed the people's constant saying—"this country is poor; the land *ungrateful* and *lean*." The ruined houses in the villages supported the saying that followed—"the villages are dying, the young people leaving, the children few. In fifty years our homes may be ruined and empty."

THIS sense of a losing struggle and of loneliness follows inevitably on the sight of departure and on diminished numbers in the village. But it must be still further accentuated by the break-up of society itself. Nowadays there are not only fewer people, there seem to be still fewer customs of neighbourly aid and of kindness, of fun and common life among those that are left. In the old days the burden of hard conditions and economic over-population was sustained, in

the joint family and the village, by neighbourliness in work and play; now work is done painfully and alone, or by groups whose diminished numbers seem to be accentuated by diminished solidarity. This is to us the significance of the break-up of all forms and expressions of life in common—of harvest work in common, of satisfaction in pastoral life, of round dances in gala costume, and song and chorus at the village fêtes. This is the meaning of the passing away and disrepute of the *veillées* round the winter fire, when evening groups, meeting now at one house, now at another, for indoor work or play, not only saved precious candle light and fuel, but, by their intercourse, generated inner light and warmth.

GIVEN the fact, and the necessity of depopulation in the Pyrenees, we may next ask how can this be made to be not a debacle but an opportunity? The problem has two aspects. First, what is a convenient modern economy for the mountain valleys, using their lower lands and gentler slopes, their pastures, their woods and their water power, their tourist resources also? Secondly, without idle lamentation for the past, how are the strength and the morale of old community life, at its best, to be maintained and developed among the descendants, so scattered and intermixed at many points among the hills, over the plain, in the cities and abroad?

THE first aspect—that of development of a satisfactory modern valley economy—involves a great change in point of view, partly economic, partly social. Economically, the change means that each peasant, in so far as he remains one, must think out his farm and his home budget; (1) to feed, clothe and house himself as far as he still conveniently can; (2) to produce what he can best sell from his holding and pastures, now that motor and railroad transport make possible export and exchange; (3) to take winter activity no more as a “Jack-of-all-trades,” but as a man of real skill, stock-breeder, woodcutter, or artisan. Socially, the change means that the village community, whose potential vitality is only very partially recognised, must, in common sense, unite for common ends—to grow timber, make and maintain selected irrigation channels, and share in their use. It must also try to train its youths, some as woodsmen (wood-cutters and planters), others as first-class shepherds and cattlemen with a knowledge of elementary surgery and of dairy-farming. It must encourage all to act more together in work and play as of old. It must tackle the village, clean up its lanes, sacrifice the worst houses and improve the best, letting unwanted ones to families of holiday-makers from the plains. The coolness, healthfulness and beauty of the hills are a “bourgeois” privilege which one would wish to see democratised, as they could be without loss to the hill people who would be hosts. (The children of the working classes especially would benefit, as many

already do from the visits arranged in August from the hot towns of the plains.) And finally, education, while it must still further sharpen wits and quicken the active mind, must also think of restoring some of the peace of the subconscious mind which gave stability to character, and life and joy to the community in spite of hardships in pasture and in field. And these last considerations, those of a finer social life and of richer resources for personality, apply to rural life everywhere.

FRANCE is perhaps fortunate in that her industrialism has come late. Even the recent check to the mushroom growth of her industry, may be a blessing in disguise, if it remind the French of what was apt to be forgotten in the "boom," viz., that her security lies in a stable, prosperous rural life. Even if the mountains are to be left largely to pasturing, foresting, mining and the generation of electric power, or simply left in wild beauty save in areas where flat arable land occurs not too high up, the lessons of rural community life, best remembered in outlying places such as these mountain valleys, will serve for the village populations of the plains, for these, too, have their difficulties—difficulties of adjustment to new types of agriculture and fluctuation in prices and social problems following, even there, on rural exodus and on immigration of new heterogeneous populations.

ONE of the most hopeful signs of "rural reconstruction" in the plains is the organisation of the co-operative associations for purchase and sale, mutual assurance and like purposes. In no branch of agriculture has progress been more striking than with the vine-growing of the plains lying about the Eastern end of the Pyrenees. Late in the last century the wine trade, through mismanagement and through dishonest dilution of wine, by the growers themselves, had come to an acute and dangerous crisis. Within a few years they have set their house in order, disciplined and policed themselves, and are building up great co-operative businesses for the making and selling of their wine. Some of our party may remember the aspect of at least one of the little ancient hillfoot towns above whose ring-wall and roofs stood, on one side, the ancient chateau of the Seigneur, on the other, the still greater buildings of the new *Co-operative*. We have yet to see the social life that a generation may evolve which has begun on such a new start as this. At the same time it is evident that they would lose nothing by reverent enquiry into tradition, just as the example of community-making in the newest lands may be suggestive. For example, the villages of the southern plains of France, where population is now so mixed, might possibly learn from communities in process of integration, from completely new elements, that is from the settlers of Canada and the States who have given us the rural institutes. For these developed among a population which had to make some sort of social life from among the individuals who composed it and who, to begin with,

were total strangers by blood tradition, dialect and often language. There is finally the problem of the rural immigrants in the cities—most complex and difficult of all, and one we must leave with a single suggestion. Hitherto, those who controlled the industry, the finances and the governance of the towns have been controllers of the country too. Adequate rural organisation is a first step to the adjustment of fair relations between country and town, and it may follow that the economic and social well-being of the city population itself will benefit from this adjustment of regional, civic-rural life.

WHATEVER the means used, whatever the example followed, or the new lines charted, the great change in economic life which has brought on a rise in the economic standard of living, can only bring a corresponding gain to heart and mind through the integration of economic and of social ends. To seek the first of these, hoping to add the other would be vain. Just as the economic system must fit into the permanent geographic conditions of its region, and of the neighbour lands around this, intrinsically it must be socially sound in the relation it maintains between "labour and direction," and between the whole producing agency and the community it supports and serves. The elements of co-operative and social advance to which we have alluded are encouraging because they contain so much that is "workable" and at the same time is socially sound. "Co-operation" may yet come to realise the last of the three great watchwords of republican France. At the risk of playing with these, we might say that the passion for liberty, like quarriers' dynamite, is best kept for explosives; that the aim for equality, less dangerous because more static, gives a precarious balance in a moving world; but that the passion of fraternity, ceasing to be a passing flame or the cold ashes of a sentiment, can only come to burn as a dynamic yet a steady fire in lives constantly disciplined in service and in mutual aid. But such words, at the best, are abstract. We would rather close with the recollection of the peasants as we saw them in the mountains—as steady under their burdens as were their great yoked beasts moving slowly with their heavy loads, cheerful over the toil of harvesting and bursting into dance and song at their village *fêtes*—for this brings with it the suggestion that their courage and brave joy of life among the hardships of the hills will descend to their sons and daughters in the plains.

TOWARDS A SOCIOLOGY OF ART.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

IN the vast literature of aesthetics, there is little that can be counted genuinely sociological. The test of a sociological approach to Art (including architecture) is twofold. There must be adequate use of the specialisms which go to the making of sociology: and notably must be called in aid the contribution of Geography, Economics and Anthropology, as also, of course, Psychology, Ethics and History, as well as *Æsthetic* proper. But also the sociological approach must be synthetic as well as specialised. And synthesis means, for sociology, to be sure, no vague conceptions of unity, but the ordered application of ideas and formulæ available for the co-ordinating of specialised data. We print below three contributions which, it must be confessed, are assembled somewhat at random. The first is a paper that comes independently from Mr. Clifford Darby, of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge. This paper, dealing almost exclusively with the geographical basis of architecture, affords a natural starting point for the sociological approach. It is followed by three extracts from Dr. Vaughan Cornish's masterly and exquisitely written address as President of the Geographical Association. The address is appearing in the current numbers of the organ of the Geographical Association. The title of Dr. Vaughan Cornish's long and remarkable address is *HARMONIES OF SCENERY: AN OUTLINE OF ÆSTHETIC GEOGRAPHY*. The extracts here given are selected mainly to illustrate the approaches from economics, anthropology and psychology, which in a sociological synthesis follow on the geographic approach. These extracts may be viewed as especially illustrating the needed supplement of Place-knowledge by Work-knowledge and Folk-knowledge. But Folk, Work and Place are transformed into a more creative triad under the cumulative and complex influences we call, religious, political, ethical, psychological and æsthetic. Hence the twofold formula of a synthetic sociology, so often repeated in these pages—Place—→Work—→Folk: Polity—→Culture—→Art. By way of illustrating the working of the twofold formula in its full complexity and in reference to the topic under discussion some observations and their interpretations, made during a walking tour mainly in Northern Italy, are added as a third section to the two mentioned above. It should be explained that this third section (though not hitherto published) was written some three or four years ago and for a purpose different from that now in view. In this section, some account is given of those Mountain Sanctuaries commonly believed to be peculiar to the Piedmontese Alps. One may or may not like the ideals of the Polity which thus remakes Place into an elaborate composition of Art. But the scientific value of the Mountain Sanctuary is undeniable as an example of how the creative half of the sociological formula operates.

A. THE ARCHITECTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH BRITAIN.

ARCHITECTURE varies in time and in place. The average text-book on Architecture deals almost exclusively with the time element, probably because it is usually concerned with a limited area. In the case of England the customary division is fourfold—Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Modern. Each period is variously subdivided. But underneath this chronological variation and development there lie

geographical distinctions. That a broad classification of architectural types, capable of being equated with the major climo-botanical zones, is possible, has long been admitted. Vidal de La Blache attempted such a classification ; his basis being building materials—

1. Tropical architecture. (Wood and leaves.)
2. Thorny wood and grass thatch. (Savannah.)
3. Use of earth and brick. (Adobe, kurgans, tumuli.)
4. Stone architecture.
5. Combination of stone, earth, and wood. (Central Europe.)
6. Pine and other resinous woods. (Alpine châlet, Russian izba.)

BUT apart from such large divisions, more detailed knowledge has taken the form either of distinctions within individual countries (Russia by Solovief, France by Demangeon, Palestine by Lyde) or of isolated observations, e.g., the roof angle determined by the problem of rain or snow as in the steep Scandinavian gable, or the arrangement of the house round an open square in Mediterranean lands. The attempt here to be made is a dual one : (a) The evaluation of the control exerted by geography upon the house ; (b) A division of England and Wales into architectural regions.

It would be a great mistake to correlate architecture exclusively with geography. Like that of all human developments, the problem of architecture is a triple one : 1. Of the physical environment. 2. Of the social environment. Man is never simply acted upon by the physical environment, for he reacts upon environment in terms of ideas, ideals, and imagery. 3. It is the problem of the individual in his rebellion against the social environment. For though the individual is the product of the group, it by no means follows that the individual's outlook is necessarily the reflex of group mentality.

WE are concerned here with the first of these lines of study. Geographical considerations affect architecture in two ways : 1. There is the direct influence of geography, which manifests itself partly as a function of location, partly as that of differing materials. 2. There is also an indirect influence of climate and material ; the "genius loci" which influences the form, moulds the style and gives individuality to a structure. Different materials demand different modes of treatment.

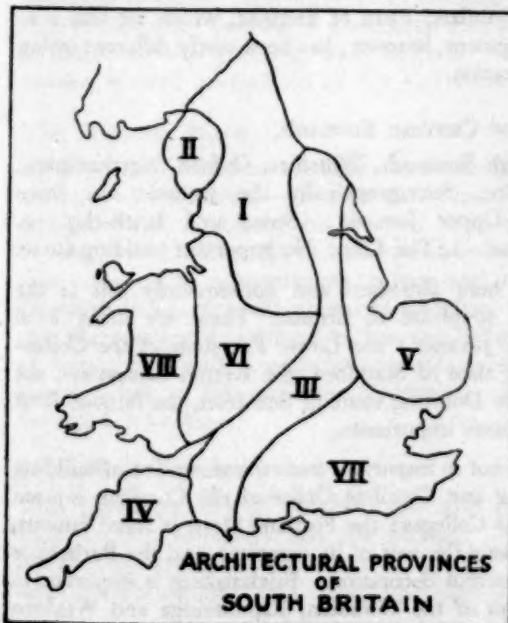
THE net result of these two sets of influences is a blending with the general aspect of the surrounding country. The second set of influences is necessarily vague and does not lend itself to detailed exposition. To discuss it would be but to raise the question of the effectiveness of geographic control, to review an infinite variation of contemporary thought ranging from the Determinism of Ratzel to the Possibilism of Febvre. Moreover, the small size of England prevents violent contrasts of material and especially of climate. We will content ourselves with saying that the influence of environment is not

simple nor obvious. It is complex and subtle, incapable of being subjected to precise and rigid formulæ, often modified by human struggle and by political factors.

THOUGH differentiation is easily recognisable in England's architecture, the present tendency is towards the obliteration of regional differences, due chiefly to the increasing power of transport facilities and to the dictates of modern industry. Our examples, therefore, will necessarily be taken not from the streets of towns but from older manor houses, country dwellings and ecclesiastical edifices.

THE question of location finds its best expression in political and social conditions. Continental influences affected the south and east, while the north and west, inaccessible and hilly, were left behind until the Industrial Revolution. Accordingly, it is in the south-east that the flower of early English architecture is found. The influence of the religious orders is especially important. In the south-east the Benedictines and Cluniacs built their monasteries characterised by gorgeous decoration. The Cistercian order, however, was one of severity. Houses were built in remote and desolate areas—to the north and west. Simplicity is the keynote to their building. Between the two in the Midlands came the Augustin Canons with yet another distinctive style.

FROM the viewpoint of material, England can be divided into regions characterised by the predominance of particular types of raw material.



The basis for such division is not one of stratigraphy but of lithology. Sandstones, limestones, granite and clay bricks form the chief building materials. Eight such areas can be recognised:

- i. The Pennine Ridge.
- ii. The Lake District.
- iii. The Jurassic Ridge of Central England.
- iv. The Devon-Cornwall Peninsula.
- v. East Anglia.
- vi. The Midland Plain.
- vii. South-East England.
- viii. Wales.

THE PENNINE RIDGE.

LITHOLOGICALLY, this is an area of Carboniferous sandstones and limestone with a band of Magnesian limestone on the east. On the higher ground most things are of stone, even the fences. Trees are scarce. "The roofs of the churches, cottages, barns and mansions are always of the local stone that weathers to beautiful shades of green and grey and prevents the works of man from jarring with the great sweeping hillsides." (Howe: YORKSHIRE DALES AND FELLS.) Moreover, they are well adapted to stand the rather bleak and severe climate. Built for strength rather than beauty, little painting or sculpture is developed. The Magnesian Limestone is largely quarried around Doncaster, Bolsover, Huddlestane and Mansfield. Many of the local castles and country seats are built of it. Charing Cross Station and the Houses of Parliament have been built of it also.

THE LAKE DISTRICT.

As in the Pennine area, Cumberland is marked by a general scarcity of wood. Though local forests occur: those of Martindale and Copeland. Slates (Cambrian sediments or volcanic ash) and granite are used for ordinary building purposes. Its location, remote from continental influences, has prevented the architectural history of Cumberland from being a brilliant one. The Triassic Vale of Eden forms a general exception to the rest of the area. The stone somewhat resembles that of the Midland Plain of England, which we will note subsequently. Development, however, has been vastly different owing to the difference in location.

THE JURASSIC RIDGE OF CENTRAL ENGLAND.

THE ridge runs through Somerset, Wiltshire, Oxford, Northampton, Lincoln and Yorkshire. Stratigraphically the Jurassic has three broad divisions: 3. Upper Jurassic: Stone and brick-clay. 2. Middle Jurassic: Stone. 1. The Lias: No important building stone.

OOLITIC limestone is here abundant and consequently this is the area *par excellence* of sculpture in Britain. There are many local varieties of the Middle Jurassic: the Lower Freestone of the Cotteswold, the Collyweston slate of Stamford, the Ketton Limestone, the Barnack Limestone, the Doulting stone of Somerset, the famous Bath stone, and others of lesser importance.

THE Upper Jurassic is not so important from the viewpoint of building stone. The Coral Rag and Coralline Oolite of the Corallian is used in many of the Oxford Colleges; the Portland stone is more famous, being widely used outside the area of its outcrop; and the Purbeck is frequently used for internal decoration. Brickmaking is important in this region. The clays of the Corallian, Kimmeridge and Wealden

are used, but the chief source of supply is the Oxford Clay. Amid the older houses and churches bricks are not found as frequently as in East Anglia, where there was no satisfactory stone alternative. To-day, however, economic factors have led to the concentration of the brick industry in a few large towns to the detriment of the East Anglian concerns.

THE DEVON-CORNWALL PENINSULA.

THIS bleak but picturesque peninsula is an area of wood-poverty. The two main building rocks are sandstones of the Carboniferous and Devonian and the igneous rocks: granite and serpentine (the latter is used as an internal ornamental stone). Igneous rock is more important than the sedimentaries, and out of it are built the sturdy cottages on the borders of the moors. It is exported and used in other areas, too. Woodwork is naturally scanty. Vulliamy in UNKNOWN CORNWALL declares that "walls, houses and stiles are all of stone."

EAST ANGLIA.

EAST ANGLIA had no building stone. Flint was the only possible substitute. Church towers were often built round to avoid stone for the quoins; round flint towers are frequent in the area. About the 14th century brickmaking was developed, the clay being obtained from the Gault and even the boulder clay. Good examples of brickwork are found at Oxborough Hall, Norfolk, and Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire. Subject to continental stimulus, East Anglia turned to carpentry and painting, and produced the wonderful roofs and screens so well exemplified in Ely Cathedral.

THE MIDLAND PLAIN.

THIS is mainly an area of Trias sandstone (red). Five forest areas are to be distinguished—Cannock Chase and Sherwood in the North, and the forest of Arden, the forest of Wye, and the forest of Dean in the South. Naturally, therefore, timber-framed houses abound in this area. The red-sandstone houses and castles of Chester and Nottingham are generally typical of the plain. Timber enters largely into the construction of the churches, and elaborate carving is a feature of domestic as well as ecclesiastical architecture. Witness especially the churches of Hereford and Shropshire. Keuper marls are used for red-brickmaking.

SOUTH-EAST ENGLAND.

THIS region partakes of the characters both of the Midlands and of East Anglia: woodwork and brickmaking. The older churches are marked by wooden spires and bell towers. Brickwork is frequent amid the old country seats: Hengrove Hall (Suffolk), Layer Marney

Towers (Essex), and the Lollards Tower at Lambeth are fine examples. Rich plaster-work combines effectively with the woodwork. Clay is derived from the Gault, the Wealden, and the London Clay. Local variations occur, the most interesting being the Oligocene Bembridge beds (limestone) used in the Isle of Wight. The Paludina, the Purbeck, the Bethersden and the Sussex Marbles are other local stones.

WALES.

LOWER Palæozoic Grits are used abundantly. In South Wales some limestone is used. Trees occur in the valleys and provide sufficient wood for the ordinary necessities of building. In North Wales slate is especially abundant. The Principality does not compare with the eastern side of England from the decorative point of view owing to its location and rugged character.*

H. CLIFFORD DARBY.

B. FROM SCENERY TO CIVICS.

I. THE COUNTRY PARISH.

THE scenery of Debenham, in East Suffolk, the parish in which I was brought up, was Nature adapted to Man's needs and flourishing under his care. All was cultivated, nothing of the wild remained. The parish boundary was about the limit of the daily trudge from the village street. This street was our factory, for we were far from any town; and in the street were Church and Chapel, the places of assembly for the community of about one thousand souls. Few things that mattered much in our daily life were beyond the horizon of the parish, and everything within that horizon entered into our life. We knew every man by sight and the part which he played in the life of the village. Even the signs of the sky were of practical importance, for in those days we had to be weatherwise. The very winds were part of our economy, for they drove the mills which ground the corn we grew.

AT dawn the community scattered for its work, and until dusk the fields were a scene of activity, and not the fields only, for the blacksmith's forge and wheelwright's shop were open to the village green. So varied was the farm work that the mere handling of the tools was an epitome of purposeful movement, and this had a rhythm responsive to the round of the seasons. Each year ended with the harvest thanksgiving and the next began with the breaking of the stubble by the plough, so that in the matter of the almanac we were at one with the Academic world.

*In the preparation of these notes, the writer is indebted to Messrs. J. A. Steers, M.A. and B. L. Manning, M.A., of the Cambridge Geography School, for their kind interest and ever-ready suggestions.

THE cattle grazing contentedly in the meadow, the sheep quietly nibbling the grass, were free from the appearance of anxious watchfulness which is characteristic of wild animals, and in the driving of the furrow we saw the best picture which the world provides of the partnership of man and nature. The scenery of rural England is, indeed, unsurpassed as a picture of Arcadia, the peaceful life of an unchanging agriculture.

THIS beautiful ideal is not conjured up in the same degree where new lands are being broken to the plough in the Far West, where the operations of agriculture are more mechanical, in spite of the glamour of pioneering. The Arcadian charm of rural England depends largely on the fact that form and movement and colour are a decorative scheme which harmonises with the quiet continuity of the least changing of industrial pursuits. Agricultural England is a country of gentle undulations where rivers flow quietly in winding curves, a land well timbered by deciduous trees of rounded form, of fields divided by a bushy fence, all in a climate of soft skies, where the song of birds is heard throughout the year. And we still have a wealth of architecture of cob and thatch, of mellow brick and mossy tile, of grey church towers, and Georgian mansions calmly classic, all in harmony with the natural scene. If this quietude of the senses be broken, as by buildings of harsh form or staring colour, or by clatter of mechanical noise, there is a loss of happiness out of all proportion to the material discomfort, for the mind begins to pay attention to imperfections instead of dwelling upon an ideal, and we no longer live in Arcadia.

II. THE ENGINEERING CAMP.

THE forges of the Black Country impart volcanic splendour to the night, but modern manufacture contributes little by day to the scenery whose natural beauty it impairs, for the machinery is housed and its wonderful picture of powerful and co-ordinated movement is shut out from the general view which constitutes scenery. But in the engineering camp where machinery is assembled and a force of men collected, Scenery gets full value from every operation. The finest landscape of mechanical industry seen in our time was the making of the Panama Canal. I crossed the Atlantic five times, in alternate years, to watch the progress of the work. Leaving Southampton for the Isthmus via New York, we steamed through the Solent, where pleasure boats heeling under the breeze with bellying sails were bounding over the waves, the most beautiful of all responses to that great invisible agency, the wind. In these narrow waters the ocean liners were chiefly noticeable for their huge size, displayed by comparison with trees and houses on the shore. No sense of beauty was conveyed either by their box-like form above water or the monotonous regularity of their motion, but when we reached mid-Atlantic I saw the liner

as a revealer of beauty. The wind, which was against us, had increased to the force of a gale, and we slowed down on account of the heavy head sea. Then a fast Cunarder carrying the mails for New York appeared astern at full steam, and overhauled us rapidly. The black smoke streamed behind level with the top of the funnels, the ascending bows rising to the wave, revealed the underwater lines, the curves of beauty on which sailors love to look, then plunging deep, flung back the flying spray over the battened deck, the opposition of the Elements disregarded so that the contracts were fulfilled,—as fine a picture of Man's indomitable purpose as the Scenery of the world can show.

ARRIVED on the Isthmus, the great spectacle during the earlier years of construction was the concentration of men and machinery in the Culebra Cut, where the hills were trenched down to within forty feet of sea level, leaving a great scarp of rock which at Gold Hill was five hundred feet in height. The bottom of the Cut and the benches on its side were laid with railway tracks as numerous as those approaching the terminus of some great Capital, yet all beyond was the illimitable verdure of uninhabited tropical forest. The great steam shovels gobbled up their ton of dirt and dumped it on a truck, and if some lump of rock lay awkwardly, the proboscis of the mechanical elephant pushed it into place, the machinery at a distance seemingly operated by its own intelligence. Every minute and a half throughout the day powerful locomotives lumbered along the roughly-laid tracks with a long train of clanking cars loaded with the "spoil," and all the time the rock-drills were pegging away with the effectiveness of narrow specialists. Gangs of workmen shifting the tracks at the bottom of the Cut looked like busy ants under the great scarp of Gold Hill. At sunset machinery stopped, and men swarmed out of the Cut and sought their quarters and supper. Darkness descended, and then came the closing episode, explosions of dynamite which shook the ground and flung the rock in shattered fragments ready for the steam shovels as soon as daylight should return.

YEAR by year the Culebra Cut deepened and broadened until in 1912 it resembled a great natural Canyon. Meanwhile another feat of engineering was in course of accomplishment at Gatun, where the valley by which the river Chagres reaches the Atlantic is narrowed by approaching hills. Here a great earthen dam was being cautiously piled up, the waters of the river escaping by a spillway, lined with concrete, through the dam. In 1912, at the time of my fourth visit to the works, the dam had been built up to the full height, more than one hundred feet, required to maintain the land waters at the depth necessary for the high-level canal, and the solid steel gates of the spillway were at last allowed to slide down in the grooves and impound the river. In January, 1914, nearly two years later, when I returned

to Panama, the Scenery of the Isthmus was transformed. The broad and branching valley of the Chagres and its tributaries was replaced by a lake twice as large as Maggiore, its sparkling waters driven into waves by the brisk Trade Wind. Gone was the old Black Swamp which bubbled as the train crept cautiously along, gone were the ramshackle villages, and the neat cemeteries which recorded the mortality of de Lessep's undertaking, but the two most beautiful eminences of the tropical forest, Lion and Tiger Hill, stood out yet more beautifully as wooded islands. The arms of the lake were watery lanes in the forest, and, traversing the remoter creeks in a steam launch we gathered orchids from the branches of the trees. But the unexpected part of the scene was the rapid adaptation of vegetation and animal life to changed conditions. Broad leaves of "water lettuce" floated on the lake and in the backwaters formed rafts on which White and Pink Cranes walked delicately, while on the open waters solemn Pelicans were already at home.

THE season of rains had filled the lake, there was water enough and to spare, and the working of the spillway was being tested. The steel gates, ranged in an arc, were opened, and a flood of water poured over the horseshoe fall with a tumultuous violence rivalling Niagara itself, yet regulated and controlled in an instant at the touch of a man's hand.

III. THE LANDSCAPE LINES OF A CITY.

THE stately avenues of a well-planned City are the crowning examples of one of the most characteristic contributions made by Man to the Scenery of the world,—the vista,—that pleasant path of converging lines which leads the eye to a point of rest in the far distance. The towering effect of buildings in the foreground, always considerable from the effect of vertical planes, is enhanced by columnar relief, which, being imperceptible at a distance, does not interfere with the perspective of regular and strongly marked cornices which reinforces recessional effect in the remoter view. Delight in the vista led men long since to plant trees in avenues of approach to lordly mansions, and later occurrences of a somewhat accidental character brought in the boulevard. Here we have not only the simultaneous pleasure of a vista of buildings and a vista of trees, with pleasant combination of colour in the season of the leaf, but an enhancement of architecture, which though appreciable at all seasons, is especially remarkable when the boughs are bare. The Plane tree, which is mostly chosen for boulevard planting, is unsurpassed in winter for the combined delicacy and magnitude of the three-dimensioned lattice, which, as a foreground, makes space itself stereoscopic, distancing and magnifying the architectural background, to which, moreover, it imparts an atmospheric tone.

THE constructional lines of the dome, the crescent, and the archways of a stone-built bridge, are a monotonous repetition of balanced curves, but seen near by as they are in Cities, perspective transforms monotony to rhythm, and the rhythm changes with every step of our approach, the curve of each element of the structure changing, the change different for each element according to its position, the change from form to form so subtle, so continuous in its flow, that it imparts the sense of infinity.

A SKY-LINE of gable, spire and pinnacle, nowhere more perfect than in dim northern cities, where architecture gains in outline what it loses in relief, combines the delicacy of the forest silhouette with the strength of a mountain's serrated crest. And within the cloistered precincts of the Gothic Cathedral the perspective view of gabled buttress and corbelled pinnacle has a rhythmic variation of individual form such as Nature cannot match, so compelling in its beauty that it would awake the devotional mood even in a stranger coming to this planet from the stars. The towers of Ely and Lincoln dominate the landscape of the distant Fen with the nobility of height, but near at hand the tower does not gain in apparent loftiness as does a sheer cliff. The structural parallelism of the sides is so insistent that the perspective is psychological rather than physiological, the distant summit subconsciously magnified (as can easily be proved) and the tower becomes squat. But if the tower be crowned by a spire, as was commonly intended, we have a form which avoids this conflict between the perceptive and reflective faculties. Viewed from afar the spire of Salisbury appears, indeed, no higher, if as high, as a slender campanile rising vertically to the same altitude, but when looking up from beneath, the spire, tapering away to nothing at the distant summit, seems almost to reach the heaven towards which it points. So, too, when we look up at St. Paul's from the quiet corner on the north of the cathedral the diminishing tiers of colonnade and dome and superstructure above the dome, so perfectly suggest distance that the culminating cross seems to soar aloft above all the world.

WHEN standing near the South transept of Lincoln Cathedral I found the dominant impression to be that of massiveness, both when the building was strongly shadowed by day and in the obscurity of deepening twilight. As I lingered in the Minster Yard on the last night of my stay in Lincoln, loath to leave the holy place, I searched my memory for some natural feature which conveyed a comparable impression of massiveness, and could find none nearer than the castellated cliffs of the Wetterhorn, which are six thousand feet in height. That the cathedral can give an impression of massiveness comparable to that of the mountain is doubtless due to the circumstance that nave and tower and transept, and every pinnacle and buttress, is within the range of direct stereoscopic vision, whereas the cliffs of the Wetterhorn

can only be seen as a whole from a distance at which the eye is not fully master of the third dimension.

If great buildings sometimes produce an effect of collective mass as fine as that of mountains it is no less true that rock sometimes surpasses even Etruscan architecture in cyporean effect. In the gorges of the Jura near Dellemont the towering walls of jointed limestone seem as the foundations of the world laid in huge blocks by the giants of old.

ONE other impression of vast magnitude produced by architecture remains to be described, the looming immensity of a city during fog. A rate of atmospheric absorption which in open country shuts out the view and narrows the world, opens out the successive planes of the picture in the close clustering which is the characteristic grouping of a City. Then, with a forced atmospheric perspective and apparent distance enormously enhanced, facades extend to lengths unknown before and towers loom to the height of those which crown the magic castle of some Arabian tale.

IV. A LINK BETWEEN CONSTRUCTIVE ART AND NATURAL SCENERY.

A SHARP turning down a short paved alley leads from the crowded High Street of Exeter to the calm seclusion of the Close, and here the message of the Cathedral comes with a clearness and certainty unattainable except within a sacred precinct. The mediæval tradition of cloistered life has helped to preserve the unsurpassed combination of home and garden within a City which we see in Oxford and Cambridge where architecture is beautified by a verdant setting, but in Japan the precincts of sacred and monastic buildings and even of ordinary homes, have been beautified by gardens which are both decorative and symbolic.

AN avenue twenty miles in length shaded throughout by giant cryptomerias, leads to the red-lacquered bridge which spans the Nikko torrent, beyond which rises a steep hillside selected three hundred years ago as the site for the tombs and temples of the great Shogun Ieyasu and his grandson Iemitsu. Unlike the Catholic cathedral which gathers many shrines under one roof the Japanese temple is an aggregate of many buildings, and the selection and laying out of their site is part of the art of sacred architecture. The architects of Nikko, as the eighteenth-century architects of Bath, were planners as well as builders. The hillside of Nikko was laid out as a grove, and planted with the cryptomeria which in the climate of Japan attains a growth so lofty that now, in maturity, the great columns overtop the buildings and the sun shines on the sacred precincts through the foliage of boughs. The buildings are of wood, and painted in dark red and black, with splashes of gold, a scheme of colour remarkably harmonious

with the deep rich tone of the evergreen cryptomeria. Green mosses coat the stone stairways which ascend the steep hillside from the court of the temple to the tomb, and grey lichen coats the stone votive lanterns which stand before the court. Everywhere the eye is attracted and satisfied by the sweeping curve of the ridge-tiled roofs, massive, but with such spring in their upturning that the impression is of strength which carries mass lightly. The carving of the great gates of these seventeenth-century buildings is unsurpassed in its attainment of opulence without sacrifice of refinement; but, wonderful as are the harmonies of form and colour at Nikko, the earlier temples and monasteries of Kyoto have symbolic beauties with a deeper appeal to the pilgrim from the West. In the sweet sunshine of a spring morning I set out along the quiet road which skirts the wooded hills to the north of the city and came to the Eikwando temple which stands in a landscape garden. The sliding panels of the main building were pushed back so that the pillared hall with its treasures of art could be seen from the garden, and the pilgrim seated on the mats could look out upon a variety of sacred art unknown in the West. In Japan a landscape garden is not the imitation of a landscape but an artistic interpretation. Moreover, the artistic sense of Japan is based upon a Chinese tradition steeped in a contemplative philosophy which endows all nature with spirit, and sees in tree and flower, in wave and river, in rock and crag, the embodiment of infinite life. Thus from a landscape, itself spiritually symbolic, the artist designs a garden which is an allegory.

VAUGHAN CORNISH.

*C. THE QUEST OF LIFE-FULFILMENT.**

I.

THE Isles of Borromeo lie upon the lucent waters of Lake Maggiore amid encircling hills, like jewels on the breast of a queen. There is music in their very names. Isola Bella, rising, tier upon tier of statued terrace; Isola Madre, planned as a paradise of verdure; Isola San Giovanni, crowned by a sunlit villa set in a garden of Eden: they draw the summer stream of visitors, as by spells of enchantment. Isles of the Blest, they seem to be. Yet few amongst those who debarque upon Isola Bella can fail to be struck by an amazing contrast. Against the ordered magnificence, the ornate grandeur, the spacious design of palace and garden, stands the little fishing village, congested, planless, squalid, crowded into an angular nook by princely ambition, and unsaved from a horrid fate by its priest and his church. In the irony of its name, in the tragedy of its noble founder (for the palace is unfinished), and in the pathos of its struggling people, Isola Bella

*This paper may be read as, in some sense, a continuation and development of *THE PURPOSE OF LITURGY* in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* of January, 1928.

might serve as a working model of that later Renaissance scheme of life-fulfilment which dominates the western world to-day more than is generally realised.

To observe and contemplate at first hand, and in the open-air, a more perfect view of this twilight of the declining Renaissance, leave Italy, and for a moment interrupt our rustic excursion by an imaginary flight to the heart of modern Paris. Stand before the West front of the Louvre, and regard with intensity that marvel of Baroque architecture at its culmination.

If one wished to see, and take in at a glance, all that our cultivated forefathers thought most worth while in the ways of life-fulfilment, from the 17th to the 19th Century, it would be hard to do better than stand, on some late afternoon of a clear day in spring, amid the flower beds of the Tuileries garden, and gaze upon the western facade of the Louvre, until the splendours of the scene should fill the soul with wonder and admiration. The peace and sweetness of a lowering April sun pervade all things and saturate them with the poesy of romance. The tender green of early grass, patterned with rich hues of tulip, crocus and hyacinth, carpets the ground all around. On every side statues, single and in groups, many in marble and some in bronze, from workshops where gods and muses are imaged, repose on their pedestals with the serenity of life eternal, or rise amid foliage with the energy of life creative. At will they kindle or they calm the mind with their throbbing message of beauty. Their miracle is to recreate the best of what has gone before, and fashion from hopes and memories, ideals for now and the coming times.

In front, the outstretched arms of a palace, immense but proportioned, ornate but harmonious, begun long ago and finished but the other day, invite you to enter. Within you wander through the realms of faerie. Gallery after gallery, chamber upon chamber, is furnished with treasures of art and marvels of beauty, created in the sheer joy of a master's genius, or made for the pleasuring of kings and princes. Here is ripened fruit of the centuries, gathered and amassed by hands lavish of gold, or forceful to grasp and hold the prizes of life. This incomparable store of real wealth is your very own, inherited and possessed by right of appreciation. These rhythms of a joyous beauty have power to lift the soul into a world where the purpose of life is fulfilled in the triumph of spirit over matter. Heart elate and mind quickened you return to the garden of the Tuileries, and contemplate with intenser joy, the wonders of a world-without remade into nature's semblance of a perfected world-within. What more can a man desire than to come again and again to this halcyon spot, and with his nearest and dearest share its beatitudes? There is one thing more. It is to provide for himself and family a personal and private setting of similar

enhancement, and dwell for ever in a dream of wonder and beauty. Death will come, but one's spirit may return vicariously to the feast of mind, if a certain condition be fulfilled. An entail of fortune's favours must be assured to one's heirs in perpetuity.

SUCH was the ideal of life into which the humanism of the later Renaissance settled for fixation like molten metal in its mould. In celebration of a main historic source, we may call this way of life-fulfilment the Louvre of Desire. Desire for that leisured beatitude has moved, and continues to move, men of the gentlemanly tradition to a quest of fortune, sometimes noble even to heroism, often mean, or brutal even to baseness. Subtly its influence has penetrated to the heart of academies and universities. Thence through school and college, the humane culture of all our dominant institutes of art and learning has become, in aim, whether they know it or not, a training of the mind to appreciate the later Renaissance ideals. Are not all these institutes of learning and culture in effect propagandist organs for promoting Louvres of Desire for the Life of Leisure? From these higher centres of diffusion, the leisure aspiration transmits its message and impulse to the schools and institutes of the People. The urban masses, brought into existence by Machine Production and the imported food with which it endows us, naturally catch the infection of a life-purpose divorced from the ideals of labour in rustic conditions. There has resulted an unprecedented struggle of increasing multitudes competing individually for a realisation possible only for a favoured few living amongst a servile population. The spectacle is of a world in chains to the late Renaissance scheme of life, modified by the Revolutionary demand of a similar career for all. The mere intensity of the struggle, even had there been no other reversionary tendencies at work towards magical practices, was sufficient to provoke a wholesale movement in that direction.

THE conditions of success have lent themselves more and more to revival of a sort of Nature-religion with its rites of magic, as the Industrial passed into the Financial phase of the modern era. Even in that islet of a leisure paradise, the Tuileries garden, the serpent of the pecuniary culture occupied but the other day nearly half the vast palace; the Ministry of Finance being housed during the war in its southern wing. And even to-day you may as likely as not see, at intervals along the fifteen hundred feet of its incredible facade, placarded the bills which announce State bonds for sale at the tempting yield of about ten per cent.

HERE is a new kind of Tithe contrived by the Pecuniary Culture for purchasing a right of entry into the later Renaissance paradise. Such at least is the tentative hypothesis of the anthropologist who follows Le Play. To be sure there are other explanations. In northern lands

the greater part of our modern ills is customarily debited to one or other of two sources. Socialist writers find the fount of modern evils in the Industrial Revolution; and Radical orators see it in the Middle Ages and their survivals. But (to return to Lake Maggiore) in Isola Bella with its Renaissance Palace so splendid and pathetic, cheek by jowl with its fishing village so squalid and tragic, there has been, as in many places of Latin tradition, no Industrial Revolution. The religion of the middle ages runs on in unbroken current. Yet no less conspicuously there than in industrial cities, you observe the unbridled affluence of plutocracy confronting a proletarian impoverishment. Are we to infer that the Socialist writer is wrong, and the Radical orator right? Well, without prejudice to the answer, pass on to observe the state of things in adjacent regions of Catholic tradition, where the Industrial Revolution is in full swing.

II.

CROSS the two or three miles of water that separate Isola Bella from the town of Intra. There red-brick chimney stacks of numerous factories block the valley mouth like gory teeth of a sated giant. Indeed, the appearance of Intra, as approached from the Lake, is not promising. But explore the town and you do not find those external evidences of disorder, congestion, poverty, disease, which English experience suggests as normal to industrial towns; and which are repeated not twenty miles from Intra by Omegna, a busy place that, in these respects, fully justifies its claim to be called the Manchester of Lake Orta. By comparison with Omegna, Intra is a model of neat and tidy prosperity. If, as one infers from a place of honour given to a great statue of Victor Emmanuel II., Intra has risen on a crest of the Liberal wave, the tidiness of the place must be allowed as a point scored by the Liberal or Radical orator in his polemic with the Socialist writer, and for a double reason. Not only have the edifices of mediæval religion been put in their proper places on the town-plan (i.e., in the background), but the conspicuous sites have been allotted to those up-to-date institutions, the Banks. The embellished facades of great banking institutions catch and hold the eye in all the central parts. One of them occupies the whole side of a main square. And architectural attainment in this modernised cult is not confined to the rich and the prosperous. The Co-operative Bank, of working-class origin and management, vies in size and magnificence with those bank buildings which express capitalistic aspirations. To appreciate the significance of this fact, one must remember that in England, apart from the Co-operative Wholesale Society to which the banking business is but incidental, Co-operative Credit Associations customarily meet in the back room of a public house; and, like Trade Unions, place their funds in a joint-stock bank. The Co-operative Bank of Intra is but

one of many signs that Italy is showing to Labour in general the way of a masterful adaptation, at least to the Financial phase of the Industrial Revolution.

You are told in Italy that the Fascisti have purged the country of socialism by copious doses of castor oil publicly administered to socialist leaders. It may be doubted if in this respect the Fascisti are not clumsy physicians, who, if their aim is the countering of doctrinaire socialism, could not more effectually attain their end by painting their lictorial emblems of approval on the people's banking institutions. As to the Fascisti, their own vision of life (in so far as they have one) seemingly appertains to the abstract order of revolutionary thought. Study the Fascist literature, question their leaders, observe their actions; and you find it hard to discover evidences of concrete projects for realising the "good-life" on the town-plan of Intra, or any other place. Is it not for lack of definite objective knowledge how to provide careers for forth-faring youth, and homes for maidens to whom the Angel of Annunciation has spoken, that Fascism, for all its finer aspirations, tends to lapse into a vague nationalism, arid, aggressive, bellicose.* If so, and unless that tendency can be corrected, and not in Italy only, then are the follies of Fascismo likely to be repeated in other nations of the Western world. Like the youths who comprise our Officers' Training Corps, the young men of Fascismo are overgrown Boy Scouts. With their arrest goes a dulling of imagination, a confusion of ideas, a dwarfing of imagination, and all for want of those other rustic experiences of elemental life and work, which, added to a little exercise in meditation, make of the Hunter, a worker, a husband, a father; and so prepare him for citizenship. What the O.T.C. does on weekdays, that the Fascist Company, not being of the leisure class, does on Sunday afternoon. It practises the ritual of drill that goes with the hunting vision of life.

ARE not Socialism and Fascism but complimentary rival abstractions, respectively of People and Chiefs, inheriting an outworn revolutionary controversy? As a former generation of relatively progressive individuals polarised into Radicals and Liberals at grips for unrealisable utopias, while villages decayed and towns went wrong, so is this generation tending to split into Socialists and Fascists (or whatever be the name of nationalist progressivism), while the continuators of Mediæval and Renaissance ideals remain sterile because preoccupied with their own traditional interests and disputes. The contention is that all these groups and individuals are arrested on side tracks, and

* Since this was written, evidence has accumulated to show that the Fascist régime is moving on towards a systematic application of technological knowledge and skill; and is thereby undergoing a transformation from outworn political abstractions to a more concrete polity. A later study of Fascism in operation was made by the writer in Rome early in 1927; and a brief summary of the results of that study are printed in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* for April, 1927.

there they remain for lack of the integrating vision that should draw them on to the main line, and thereby co-ordinate their impulses of fulfilment and unite their energies of attainment.

LEAVE the Fascisti of Italy at their sedate Sunday drill on the public playing ground beside the boys of the town engaged in their own more natural and vigorous war-dance of football. Ascend to the upland villages that provide the mills and factories of Intra with their "hands." In a zigzag walk of some ten miles you will pass through half a dozen representative villages, so thick is population on the mountain side. Many signs declare that these villages are inhabited by the same race, hardy, prolific, comely, talented, which made the name Rome great in antiquity, and the word Italian a synonym for creative genius in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This race of peasants, wedded to the soil yet ardent for the building of cities, has naturally been slow to find its footing in the modern world; for has not the divorce of town and country been, and still is, an outstanding mark of modernity? Meantime, deterioration, if not decay, is written large across every one of these hillside villages. It is written physically in dilapidated roof and wall of inhabited houses, in the ruin of deserted homesteads, in the cessation of new terracing on the hill-sides. It is written spiritually in neglect, defacement, collapse, of wayside shrines. The same tokens of maladjustment show themselves all the way as you pass from the terraced vineyards and orchards of the garden-like occupations, and from the cereal and meadow patches of the peasant, onwards into the scanty pasturage grazed by tethered sheep, and higher up the glen into the heather, broom, dwarf oak and sparse birch of the wild-game hunter. But here you will meet no young men from the villages serving that apprenticeship to the chase which, taken in due time and season, serves its natural purpose, of hardening the body, bracing the mind, stirring the spirit, and so affording the natural outlet of hunting prowess. A wise law reserves communal sporting rights and throws them open at small charge. But, following a dominant fashion of the times, the more adventurous youth of upland villages would seem to be away practising bastard and perilous substitutes for sport, in towns and cities, as of Fascist drill, party politics, or money-hunting. Doubtless the young Davids of the hills are at the same urban gymnastics, for you will not see a single one of them on upland pastures; but instead an occasional and rare old woman in charge of three or four sheep, or it may be a little shepherdess minding also a big brother who needs but a lamb in his arms to be a perfect St. John.

WHAT of the other rustic types one expects to find? A possible charcoal burner met in a birchwood is the solitary forest type encountered in this journey of exploration along a representative valley-section. Quitting the main valley by a lateral glen which

debouches opposite the granite quarries of Monte Orfano, you will find more than half the mason's sheds untenanted, and the remainder occupied by old men. Does it mean that their sons have yielded to the lure of urban bait, and forsaken a traditional calling of wonderful aptitude? For great must be the skill with chisel and mallet in a region where granite is used like sandstone and marble elsewhere. Town halls are carried on arches that spring from granite columns, providing an arcaded area for market uses: inns are adorned with granite porticos, even telegraph wires are strung on monoliths of granite that suggest an Egyptian permanence.

III.

AN export of its surplus population by villages of the mountains to cities of the plains is, as the economic geographer tells us, a natural process. The biologist sees it as a compensation of urban infecundity by rustic virility. To these and other views of science, the priest adds his own interpretation in terms of sanctity and its violation. He sees and preaches the damnation, or salvation, of cities according as they refuse, or accept, a system of life-ideals, which are manifestly those of shepherd and peasant at their highest reach. He makes it his mission to map out and show a course of life-fulfilment which knits townsman and countryman into a single community of dedicated purpose. One condition of success in this priestly mission stands out clearly. Individuals respond to communal appeals in proportion as the end in view promises a drawing out, to its full, of their own personality. Enormously difficult and complex therefore is the priestly task, in any community where subdivision of labour and specialisation of function has taken firm hold. That the Christian Church has survived, through all the vicissitudes of two millennia fraught with changes perhaps the most momentous in history, presumably indicates the possession of a clue to life-fulfilment deep in the nature of things.

EIGHTEENTH century rationalism scouted the priestly office as no better than a fraud perpetrated in the interest of ruling dynasties and exploiting classes. Philosophy, more than half accepting this sceptical view of the religious process, was inclined to join hands with that early and immature "science." Their combined forces deployed upon the nineteenth century with a system of ethics calculated to "reorganise society without either God or King." That unhappy phrase of historic misunderstanding has, no doubt, proved one of the main obstacles to general acceptance of Comte's magistral labours in laying firm foundations for a science of human evolution. But the spirit of research marches on. To Comte succeeds Renan with an interpretation of Christianity more vital, but still far short of the religious verities which those younger sciences, anthropology, rustic economics, and

psychology, are beginning to explore and unveil. True it is that to not a few labourers in this field, and these far from the least eminent, contemporary researches seem to confirm eighteenth century scepticism. But it may be doubted whether these negative interpreters are not themselves over-cloistered townsmen, cut off from the deeper experiences of life, both rustic and civic, needed for fuller understanding of the religious process.

If, as things are at present, the townsman is denied first-hand experiences of vital processes, at least he can have them vicariously. Religious ritual makes this enjoyment of second-hand experience easy, doubtless too easy. Let the anthropologist don the sympathetic cloak of the scientific laboratory, and so participate experimentally in cultural ceremonies of sanctification. But field observations alone, however systematically pursued all along the linked valley-section, from fishing village at one end to quarrymen's sheds at the other, can never hope to penetrate those intimacies of the social process which are also and at the same time mysteries of religion. Like his naturalist brother the biologist, our anthropologist is before all things a wandering student of that marvel of marvels, that mystery of mysteries, life-in-evolution. Impossible for him to believe that the end of human life-in-evolution is in a half correlated activity of scattered villages, or in a real Renaissance palace like that on Isola Bella, or in mock versions of it like the international hotels that lie along the lake shore, or in neat and tidy industrial towns like Intra, or in a muddled heritage of civilisation like Novara, the regional capital, or in great cities of indescribable confusion like Milan, the provincial centre, or in a metropolitan medley of bygone glories, vague aspirations and dubious ambitions like Rome, the national capital and a world city. Equally impossible not to believe that human life everywhere tends to quicken and burgeon into creative activities characteristic of a purpose which science discerns as integrative, philosophy conceives as ultimate, and religion, in the language of the people, calls holy. Here, surely, is the real quarry and bountiful reward of the field anthropologist. He has to track out, describe, appreciate, criticise these perennial manifestations of life-impulses and aspirations striving for fulfilment. These, in the phrase of Tylor, father of English anthropology, are the "pointer-facts," and in supreme degree.

TAKE for an example of these pointer-facts, where science and sanctity may be in deeper accord than either seems to be, as yet, aware of, those mountain sanctuaries which are numerous in the Alps of Piedmont and Lombardy. One of them, modest in aim yet of no mean achievement, is the Sanctuary of Santino, which takes its name from an impoverished and dilapidated village traversed on our walk up the valley from Intra. A Sacred Way of monumental design has been

carved out of the hillside. It is paved and made broad enough to carry a procession four or more abreast, from the village, by a circuitous course, some three quarters of a mile up to an artificially constructed platform, which provides wide-ranging vistas over a great expanse of land and water, hill and vale. On this mountain platform a church has been built. The village of Santino has of course its own church and campanile for all customary usages of religion. The upper church and its processional way are for communal service on red-letter days and sacrificial occasions. It is for personal use on whatever occasion the inner spirit calls for a little pilgrimage, as of enhancement in joyous happenings, or of consolation in saddening events. As the pulse quickens with each step up the steep path, the mind responds by awakening to the meaning of things veiled in the petty round of daily routine. What these deeper things are, and what their significance for the purification and ennoblement of life, we are reminded by a dozen wayside shrines at spots of wondrous outlook every hundred yards or so up the processional path. Imagine a tiny apse neatly shaved from its junction with the chancel of a church, and then set apart as an architectural entity, and finished off by fresco paintings in its open niche, presenting some phase, or aspect of the Holy Family with attendant saints and angels. Such is the representative shrine.

ON the Sacred Hill of Santino (if one remembers rightly, and in any case typically) the processional series of shrines begins its tale of Love, consecrated with the Lily's message of Annunciation from winged youth to maiden purity. It goes on in successive shrines to present the personal drama of the Good Shepherd, who took the human family for his flock; and by the thoughts, the dreams, the deeds, of a life so dedicated, sanctified the peasant's bread and wine; and thereby made manifest to all men the mystery of pastoral ideals triumphant over circumstance. It is shown by the simple art of the shrines how temptations of the world and the flesh may be overcome: how the trials of life are transformed to occasions of heartening devotion and happy service; how are withstood the persecutions of the humble by the powerful, of the truth-seekers by the learned, of the pious by the pontifical. And in terms of the same personal drama are depicted, and symbolised, the death in agony of the ideal incarnated, its burial beneath a weight of metallised myth, yet also its renewal in life and reascent to the heart's throne.

IV.

In the last of the shrines, on its high platform beside the Church's portal, and in full view of nature's panorama, is depicted the end and purpose of the human cycle as the Catholic culture sees it. A traditional presentation of the Virgin's Assumption and Coronation exhibits

to the loving eye of religious faith, a glorious reward for the long-suffering Mother, undaunted through every trial, persistent in purity, devotion, service. The frescoed painting declares that for ever She, the parent of fortitude, wisdom and virtue, remains in the memory of man, a source of inspiration, because from her model of Motherhood, springs eternally the Messianic hope.

THE conditions under which a climb up to the sanctuary of Santino may be also a pilgrimage of grace are sufficiently obvious. Look into the niche of each shrine as you do upon the vista of nature, which is its background, with the eye of wonder and appreciation, then does the frescoed scene open, for you, a window into the soul of humanity. It shows a meaning and a purpose for life and civilisation seemingly perhaps at variance yet deeply in accord. It offers to simple folk of receptive mind three things in one. They have long names amongst the learned who keep them in separate compartments, labelled Science of Nature, Philosophy of History, Religion of Spirit. But the succession of shrines evokes from the climber in pilgrim mood a vision of fulfilment which combines something from each of the triad. Here is a way of life which draws freely from a science of nature, a philosophy of history, a religion of spirit.

WHAT are the qualities and the powers of this integral vision? Is it the kind of vision that delivers from craven fears, base ambitions and the dominion of brutality? Is it a vision that gives a true perspective of inner and outer, and so relates your world-within to your world-without, that both revolve in harmonious orbit? Is it a vision that bestows now the repose of serenity, and again stirs to passionate deed, and if so, of what life-value, what civilisation-value? Is it a vision which gathers together the ashes of our past, fans them to a glow that lights the present, and kindles a flame which beckons to the future? In a word, does the vision of wayside shrines claim and merit the epithet beatific?

THE answer depends on your previous mode of life and mental habit. It depends on how far your treasury of impressions, experiences, emotions, ideas, imagery, fit you to incorporate in thought, and so respond in action to, the spiritual message jointly conveyed by the frescoes of the shrines and their accompanying background of nature's apocalypse. The answer depends perhaps above all on your stored impressions and memories of home, filial and conjugal; of love and courtship; on your experience of labours performed under nature's conditions, and the consequent knowledge and skill in mastery of environment for the enhancing of life. Clearly the ideals of son, mother, lover, father, shepherd, peasant, all fused into one vision of fulfilment as by the rustic Acropolis of Santino, can exert undivided control of life, personal and communal only in a society where the

relevant experiences are both pervasive and dominant. Certain rustic societies do no doubt approach to that state of social and religious conformity. And (we may assume) they depart from it as these rustic societies become intermingled with urban elements of conflicting tradition and antagonistic outlook.

CURIOUS evidence points to an imperfect working of the shrine system at Santino. There is visible testimony in neglect, and even defacement, of the shrines at the foot of the processional way; and in disfigurement of the church at its summit, by the scribbling and scratching of names, initials, dates, all over the accessible parts of the west front. The priest-in-charge, it would appear, obliterates the desecrating marks periodically with a coat of whitewash, which again supplies an inviting surface to pencil and knife. This contest between the guardian of sanctity and the popular itch for self-expression on the heights of life, has apparently been going on for a long time, perhaps since the first institution of the sanctuary, which to be sure is not a foundation of widespread fame, but a local establishment unknown to guide books and drawing its adherents only from the surrounding country.

WHAT does it mean, this inveterate and irrepressible impulse to register one's personality on the walls of sacred edifices? The custom goes back a long way. On a flattened and frescoed pillar of a famous pilgrimage Church (St. Julius of Orta) in a neighbouring valley, you will see names and initials scribbled with appended dates of the fifteen hundreds. One thing we may affirm of a certainty. This mode of personal expression is to-day a folk habit. In the contemporary world of cultivated manners the custom is taboo, being counted amongst the things that "no gentleman does." And therein perhaps lies the clue to its deeper meaning. The "gentleman" is a cultural concept of definite historic origin. It is a product of the Renaissance vision. Ideas of worthiness and canons of reputability then arose which insisted upon forms of self-expression by a very direct operation of personality in its full dignity of power and grace. Short cuts to mastery of environment were not for the Renaissance gentleman. His ideal, at its best, was an all-round perfection of body, mind and spirit, developed and integrated to the high standards of performance alike in the classical tradition of dignity and power, and the Christian aspiration towards purity and grace. The gentlemanly taboo on such indirect and dubious modes of self-expression as a furtive signature on conspicuous public places carries some suspicion of a deliberate impulse towards differentiation from folk-ways. But the contrast goes deeper. A man's name is part of himself. In a sense it is his very essence, and so *is* himself. For his friends, and even to some extent for himself, a man's name concentrates and crystallises his spirit.

But to believe and act on the belief that the written name possesses inherently a potency of spirit, apart from personality in memory or reality, is an illusion of magic. From proneness to that illusion the mind is freed by a culture revealed in the gentlemanly tradition at its best. But of recurrent growth and outcrop in the folk-mind the superstition of magic persistently survives. It prompts the rustic to inscribe his signature on wayside shrines, well knowing it to be an act of desecration. The act is doubtless no more than a passing gesture of thoughtless self-expression. But it is a symptom. It signifies a mental dissociation or splitting of personality that may run from the foundation to the summit of life. Commit yourself to the system of magic in minor matters, and you will find it hard to resist the snares of that seductive approach to mastery in major affairs. Now the ritual of christian religion, as in all other extant cults of inner vision, lends itself to the formulæ of magic as well as to the evocation of ideals. To use it for the former instead of the latter purpose is a standing temptation to every believer. One condition of resisting that temptation is to clean the mind of those ideas and images which appertain to the magical view of things. There is another and a greater condition. It is to furnish and stock the mind with emotions, ideas, imagery that habitually and spontaneously compose, under the impulse of opportunity or crises, into the Christian vision of life. But how is this possible in a world where survival and success so often depend, or seem to depend, on the application of unchristian thought and feeling? Is not this the dilemma of all the higher religions? Either they must permit the use of their ritual indifferently to practice of magic and to evocation of ideals in the world-within, or they must vigorously set about the remaking of the world-without into something that more nearly resembles their Kingdom of Heaven.

V.

THE great times of the Church have been those when it frankly faced this situation and made bold endeavour to grasp both horns of the dilemma. One such time was the Protestant Reformation. We, in the north, hear much of the Jesuit Counter-Reformation. We hear little or nothing of other Catholic endeavours not less spiritual and far more environmental. In this direction the idea of Mountain Sanctuaries underwent a remarkable development. The intention was to exhibit, on some striking spot of nature, a remaking of the world-without in terms of the inner vision which Christianity holds up for perfection of life. The Mountain Sanctuary, in its furthest development, aims at a perfected environment which expresses a life fulfilled. Its design might be defined in terms at once of science and sanctity, as the making of Eutopia in adjustment with Eucharistia. You see the process at work on a tiny scale in the Sanctuary of Santino. You

see it on a large scale at Orta, which can be reached by rail and boat in a couple of hours from those granite quarries of Monte Orfano, where our walk up the linked-valley terminated. On a flattened hill-top at Orta is laid out a public park, planned first of all for the repose and meditation of a spiritual retreat, but also for festal use as of processions, games, and even fairs. The simple shrines of Santino are enlarged and amplified into a score of temple-like edifices, each vying with the others in architectural variety and richness. Collectively they present the story in successive chapters, one after the other, of St. Francis, most Christlike of men. The tale is told in great fresco paintings which cover the inside wall and the domed roof of each chapel; and also on its floor, by a grouping of life-sized figures suitably coloured and garmented, and so disposed in setting and gesture as to depict some characteristic scene in which the Saint plays a leading part, more fully illustrated by the background of painted history and drama. Anyone who has not seen some example of this way of treating history, at once graphically and by spiritual interpretation, can hardly realise the impressiveness of appeal. There is not only the appeal of imagery and drama within each temple, and the accumulated momentum of emotion in going the round of them all; there is the whispering voice of Nature subdued to man's purpose in the gardened arborescence of the sanctuary; there is the majestic note of wonder in the vistas of wild nature opening out to hill, mountain and lake, through tree-lined avenues, and down laurel-edged walks that traverse the sanctuary; and finally, there is the impress of awe and majesty in a blue canopy of sky which overarches all as by the dome of one integrating edifice.

WITH each step of exploration an impression grows that here is a real renewal of the cathedral-building spirit. And the impression is confirmed by attendance at a liturgical offering of prayer and praise in a Monastic Chapel that completes the sanctuary design. Man and Nature are here veritably at one: the world-within and the world-without for a precious moment revolve in harmony. Personality and community are in accord. Life is at the full. The hill of Orta is felt to be truly sacred. The steep way of fulfilment has been ascended.

VI.

CROSS the lake and ascend from Pella over the pass of Colma, in a walk of three to four hours, and you come into sight of a still grander scheme of Mountain Sanctuary. At Varallo, in Valsesia, a more imaginative founder, a finer art of gardening, more skilful hands at fresco painting and figure modelling, have combined with greater resources to make the most of a rugged hill-top outlying from the surrounding mass of mountains and rising sheer from the valley floor. Not a score of model temples but more than twice that number,

disposed, some in secluded dells, others on peaks that command superb mountain views, others again amid peaceful lawns and topiary hedging, tell the tale of humanity's temptations and ideals onwards from the Garden of Eden to the vision of life re-arisen to glory of fulfilment from the skulls Golgotha. Architectural unity and symbolic integrity are imparted to the scattered chapels of this vast cathedral system with its gardened aisles, arborescent pillars and vault of sky, by two buildings of larger mass. One is a noble church with a west front of white marble decorated in brilliantly coloured figures set on a background of gold. The other is a cloistered convent which rises from a crest of dioritic rock like the clipped mane on a horse's neck.

CONSIDER some instances of how the spirit of this place works to its appointed purpose. What, for example, of its effect on the individual pilgrim? The answer, up to a point, is not difficult. After a long morning's climb, for the most part through bare and rugged glens, you descend into a valley of smiling cultivation, in face of the sacred hill, crowned with grey masonry and green foliage and set in an amphitheatre of mountains, rising fold upon fold, to a serrated snow-clad ridge in the distance. The spectacle evokes a mood of joyous wonder, quickened perhaps to rapture, by a touch of the mystic, as reflections pour into the mind more fully awakened by a toilsome ascent to the sanctuary's summit, and led onwards by hope of an expected apocalypse. A monumental archway gives entrance to the sacred enclosure, and, by a Latin inscription, wets the spiritual appetite with promise of a New Jerusalem to be disclosed within. A tavern is thoughtfully placed beside this main gate of the sanctuary. Remembering that, while much bread and wine dull the mind, yet a little arouses the inner life to highest degree of receptivity, alertness, resolve, you partake sparingly of a meal that approaches to sacramental celebration in the measure that it prepares for incorporation of the message conveyed by this mountain-sanctuary. Its message, as in Santino, is of a world saturated, tempted, misguided by knowledge of evil, but ever undergoing redemption by a ceaseless flow of human love and the glad sacrifice it calls forth. But here the view of history, the conception of purpose, the heritage of ideals selected for transmission from one generation to another, are presented not in a folk art surviving from the middle ages, but in the nobler art of Renaissance masters. Gaudenzio Ferrari, the painter, and Tabachetti, the hardly less famous sculptor, were both natives of the Varallo region, and they and their pupils laboured in regional spirit at the temples or "chapels" of its sanctuary. Samuel Butler, who alone of English writers has (so far as one knows) paid serious attention to the art of these mountain sanctuaries, says of those at Varallo, "great works have been produced which have not yet attracted as much attention as they deserve. It may be doubted, indeed, whether there is a more remarkable work

of art in North Italy than the Crucifixion chapel at Varallo, where the twenty-five statues, as well as the frescoes behind them, are (with the exception of the figure of Christ, which has been removed) by Gaudenzio Ferrari. It is to be wished that some of these chapels—both chapels and sculptures—were reproduced in South Kensington."

VARALLO is a junction of Mediæval and Renaissance art. It has also felt the grip of the Industrial Revolution, for the little town that lies below the sacred hill and surrounds it on two sides, has become a place of Machine Production and is a Railway Terminus. Here, therefore, within the modest dimensions and conservative traditions of an upland market town, one might expect to find, rather than in the welter of great urban agglomerations, a fair passage into the modern age, effected by the civilising influence of Christian and Classical art in cadenced accommodation.

THERE is evidence that the tyranny of steam power has been submitted to a certain measure of social control proceeding possibly at second-hand and indirectly from the hill sanctuary. A large textile factory and the railway line and its station have all been fitted neatly into the town-plan. Bankerdom is inconspicuous, its unobtrusive edifices placed well under church shadows. But the vital question is, of course, as to the vision of life here in the town of Varallo, subserved by the demiurges of industry and the mystic powers of finance. Do they make for that joyous enhancement of personal life which was the aim of the Classical Renaissance? Do they promote that civic magnificence which was the social ideal of Mediæval Christianity? The town of Varallo shows no sign that the Industrial Revolution has here more than elsewhere been bent to these purposes. On the contrary, a somewhat banal mediocrity is spread over the face of its modern structures. It is clear that some frustration obstructs the hill-top sanctuary in its work of evoking a purified and ennobled personality throughout its own contiguous community. Can it be that malign tendency of ritualistic reversion to the magical to which scribbled signatures bore witness on the shrines of Santino? The same indications of recourse to the barbarous usages of primitive man are far from absent at Varallo. The whitewashed faces of the chapels are scored with many an obtrusive signature, and even the figure of the risen Christ, placed as culminating symbol in the central square of the sanctuary, has not escaped. Upon those parts of the statue accessible by pedestrians, many of them have left the desecrating marks of habitual reversion to practice of magic.

VICTOR V. BRANFORD.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REGIONALISM.

(CONTINUED.)

V. THE SUPERIORITIES OF A REGIONAL CITY.

So far we have dealt with the size and location of the regional city for the reason that it has been in the inordinate and uncontrolled growth of the great industrial centres and the failure to use sufficiently sites which are off the railroad line or outside the metropolitan radius that our present system of city growth has most signally failed. It is time to discuss the positive advantages of a regional city, advantages which come with the reduction of scale and the setting of problems which can be humanly and financially solved. On the economic side, one of the advantages of the small regional city is the saving in municipal utilities. A great part of the available capital for municipal enterprise is now sunk in our big cities in the subways and transportation systems which are so necessary to its bare physical existence; the greater the size of the city, the more extravagant are the demands for these palliatives of congestion, and the more congestion do they promote, by throwing the cost of these enterprises upon the neighbouring properties and forcing a more intensive use of the land. In cities that have achieved the difficulties in transportation now boasted by New York, these costs are increased by necessarily grandiose plans for street widening and for double and triple decked streets, without any prospect of ever catching up with or relieving congestion. By throwing the business district within walking distance of residences, and by relying upon the automobile to serve for longer and more rapid transportation, the regional city should avoid these vast outlays.

WITH restriction of size and congestion goes a restriction in potential land values. In a new city this would permit sites to be retained for all important public buildings and community centres and parks; even in a small established city, it permits the acquisition of land for recreation and gardening around school buildings—which is a luxury that the richest city in the world cannot provide for its school children, even in the more unsettled outlying portions of the city. Moreover, the park or agricultural belt that must surround the regional city, and the easy access to the open country, permit the utilisation of the whole environment for education. This is an important step in education for a good part of our present efforts must be confined to supplying, in the school, experiences and contacts which can be obtained much better at first hand from the actual investigation of nature and from participation in the elemental occupations. It is, of course, true that as matters stand to-day a small city may have a backward school system; while a big city may have one that is amenable to new ideas and policies;

but the fact is that the great city is physically handicapped in putting such ideas into practice, whereas in the smaller city the physical advantages are there—waiting to be used.

WHAT applies to the communal facilities of a city applies likewise to its homes. All our big cities are burdened with a vast amount of obsolete equipment which continues to be used just because it is so costly to be replaced; one need only mention the vile and insanitary slums which house a considerable part of the working population in every great city; likewise they are frequently burdened with wasteful and inadequate city plans and street systems, which have no relation whatever to the uses to which they are put, but continue in effect because, once planned or laid out, it is more difficult to amend them than to go on with them. So, for example, almost every nineteenth century American city plan, and almost every town-extension in England gave the same width of street to residential districts as to business districts; indeed, the zoning of the city into separate functional districts seems never to have been thought of, still less provided for, and in accordance with these "progressive" principles, the municipal engineer saddled the residential districts with an equally heavy burden for paving its streets.

SUCH plans contradict the best modern principles of city-planning. The modern city-planner makes major traffic arteries go around, and not through, residential districts; where houses are placed and where children must play, he reduces the size of the streets—without necessarily bringing the houses nearer together—and not merely cuts down on the paving bill but decreases the amount of dust and noise and petrol exhaust, along with the danger of accident, and by the mere saving in land effected, he is able to turn a large amount of land over to parks and gardens, without throwing a high expense on the house owner. How Mr. Raymond Unwin demonstrated this in detail is well known. And following Mr. Unwin's classic example, Mr. Henry Wright has worked out plans for such city residence areas whereby the economies effected through a development of the neighbourhood as a whole would supply a large park and playground for the district surrounded by the major traffic streets, which are themselves sufficiently increased in width to take care of the traffic better than the existing ones. These plans can, however, only be applied in a new garden city; or in a neighbourhood that can be developed as a whole without respect to the wasteful standardisation of modern municipal engineering practice. Obsolete habits of city development and land subdivision place a great burden upon the going communities: the result is that we have endless square miles of useless cement and asphalt deserts, instead of acres of good park land, and in every big city the toll of children's lives from street accidents threatens to more than counter-balance the vital savings effected by the treatment of children's diseases.

THE regional city would throw off these obsolete habits of development, and it would not suffer from the ancient and outworn equipment that makes such a large part of our existing centres mere caricatures or abortions of modern progress in technology. Through the economies effected by large scale planning and building, and through the reduction of elaborate and unnecessary utilities, the regional city would, perhaps, permit something like a decent housing of all its inhabitants, provided that the industries belonging to the city did not go below the minimum of sanitary decency and efficiency in their wage scales. Whereas almost all the existing industrial cities are planned with a single eye to industry, and planned badly at that, the regional city would be planned to promote life-efficiency, and to assist in the educational process, to conserve the natural beauties of the environment, to add the humanised beauties of architecture to the site itself, and to make possible a hearty and participating family life.

In its recognition of these essential relations the regional city promotes and fosters important aspects of life which are either destroyed or ignored in our aimless metropolitan growth. The regional city exists to integrate every function that grows out of the fact that men live and learn best—except for short periods and crises—in communities. The primary business of a city is not to promote land values or increase the commercial turnover; its business is a social one: it is man's chief means for domesticating and humanising himself. This domestication requires homes in which children may be bred, schools and playgrounds where they may have education and recreation, and cultural institutes where men may exchange their thoughts and profit by the individualities and experiences of their neighbours. Historically speaking, none of these operations have flourished at their best in great cities. Spengler calls the era of great cities, or megalopolises, the winter of civilisation; it represents the shrivelling and drying up of all that is vital in a culture. The aim of the regionalist movement is to begin again with the elemental necessities of life, to provide for these on a modern economic basis, and begin again that renewal of cities and regions which will bring about a new springtime in culture.

VI. REGIONAL RENEWAL.

THE discovery of new lands and the revival of the classic heritage of culture which took place between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries in Europe had a paradoxical effect: it turned people's minds away from the essential relations of geography and history; for it broke the established ties of tradition and place. A cultured man in the eighteenth century was one who knew his Greek and Latin classics; an enlightened man was one who regarded any part of the globe as suitable for human habitation, provided that its laws were just and

equitably administered ; a man of taste was one who knew that standards of beauty and proportion in architecture and sculpture and painting had been fixed for ever by classic precedent. The living tissue of customs and traditions, the vernacular architecture, the folk-ways and the folk-tales, the vulgar languages and dialects which were spoken outside of Paris or London—all these things were looked upon by the intelligent eighteenth century gentleman as a mass of follies and barbarisms. Enlightenment and progress meant the spreading of London and Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, over wider and wider areas.

IF this attitude towards culture reached its apex in the eighteenth century, it also produced by that time a deliberate reaction ; and a group of writers and poets came into existence who began to enter into the life and spirit of the folk, and of the mediæval past which still lingered in many ways in customs and manners. The romantics, as these writers and poets were called, attempted to take up the old threads at the point where the Renaissance had dropped them ; with this began a re-reading of the Middle Ages, absurdly by Walpole, coldly by Robert Adam, graphically by Walter Scott, faithfully by von Scheffel, piously by Pugin, moralistically by Ruskin, imaginatively by Victor Hugo. These new interpretations made apparent the wealth and interest of local life in Europe, though the eyes of its merchants and statesmen were still set greedily upon the exploitable resources of the New World, and the eyes of its scholars upon the culture and thought of the Mediterranean past. A slight check upon the centralising, exploitative, and deregionalising processes was thus put in operation. Local folk-lore and local fairy tales were collected by scholars like the brothers Grimm, and historically-minded novelists like Walter Scott ; local archæology was preserved ; local legends were collected—indeed, one of the most remarkable poems of the Romantic movement, *Tam O'Shanter*, was written to serve merely as letterpress for a picture of Alloway's auld haunted kirk !—and, most potent of all, local languages and dialects were pounced upon, some of them in the very act of dying, and restored to life by turning them to literary uses.

THE nationalist movement took advantage of these new cultural interests, and attempted to use them for purely political purposes ; in this manner new national entities like Germany and Italy became self-conscious, and realised their cultural individuality. But these new interests and revivals struck much deeper than political nationalism, and were more concentrated in sphere ; moreover, they touched aspects of life to which politics was altogether indifferent. The creation of new national states was at bottom a movement of protest against alien political power, and the nations that achieved nationality speedily began, with the introduction of coal-industrialism, to go through the same process of deregionalisation as those that had no

separate national existence. Regionalism, on the other hand, was an effort to create a new mould for life as a whole, in continuity with that which had continuously existed in Europe. At first the movement took a retrospective turn; the past was revived for its own sake, as a novelty and an amusement: in fact, the romantics took a step backward before they started to go two steps forward.

THIS part of the regional movement—that concerned with the rehabilitation of historic regions—began at a definite point in time, namely, 1854, at the first meeting of the “*Felibrigistes*,” who gathered together for the purpose of restoring the language and the independent cultural life of Provence. The Provençal language had been destroyed by the Albigensian crusades; Provence had been, so to say, a province conquered by the Church through the use of the secular arm, and although an attempt had been made by the Seven Poets at Toulouse in 1324 to revive the language, the movement had not succeeded, and the speech of Ronsard and Racine had conquered Provence. In their consciousness of the part played by language as a means of establishing and helping to build up their identity with their region, a group of literary men, Felix Gras, Roumanille, Aubanel, and greatest of all perhaps, Frederic Mistral, started to institute the regionalist movement. This movement has gone through a similar set of stages in every region where it has taken place, in Denmark, in Ireland, in Catalonia, in Scotland, in Palestine. There is, as M. Jourdanne has put it, at first a poetic cycle: this is the recovery of the language and literature of the folk, and the attempt to use it as a vehicle of expression, on the basis of traditional forms; the second is the cycle of prose, in which the interest in the language leads to an interest in the totality of a community's life and history, and so brings the movement on to the contemporary stage; and finally, there is the cycle of action, in which regionalism forms for itself a fresh objective, political, economic, civic, on the basis of its growing integration. In the final stage this historic type of regionalism comes together with that part of the movement which arises out of an appreciation of the geographic resources and peculiarities of a region: the region considered as a social heritage in time meets the region considered as a body in space: the cultural and the economic aims interfuse.

THE modern utilitarian mind is so used to regarding economic facts as fundamental, and to treating cultural activities as the mere garnishing of a life devoted primarily to sober industrial effort, that historic and cultural regionalism may seem to most of us to be a topsyturvy reversal of the natural process. The movement would indeed be absurd if it attempted to fix our activities in a stereotyped mould, conceived as belonging to some pristine era of the past; and just as there have been industrialists who have acted as if working at machinery

and saving money were the chief and indeed the sole end of man, so, too, there have been regionalists who have talked as if it were possible to fix some definite moment of the past, and to keep on living it over and over again, keeping the original regional costumes, which belonged to a certain century, and the regional customs and habits and interests, fixed for ever in the same mould. This attitude, however, has only been an over-compensation for the equally exaggerated neglect of important historic elements in a community's life.

THE development of local languages and regional culture is not antagonistic to the process which strengthens the bonds between regions, and universalises some of the common benefits of Western Civilisation : it is rather complimentary to them. A world that is united physically by the airplane, the radio, the cable, must eventually, if co-operation is to increase, devise a common language to take care of all its practical matters—its news despatches, its business communications, and the relatively simple needs and curiosities of travellers. Precisely as the boundary of this sort of intercourse widens and becomes world-wide, a more intricate language is needed for the deeper sort of co-operation or communication ; and languages equipped for this second, cultural, purpose have been spontaneously growing up, or reviving, all over the world from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. Welsh, Gaelic, Hebrew, Catalan, Flemish, Czech, Norwegian Landeraal, are relatively new languages for combined vernacular and literary use ; and so far from a single language being able to dominate the world, as French and English people have by turns dreamed, it is much more likely that bi-lingualism will be the path of cultural advance—i.e., an arranged and artificial world-language for purely pragmatic uses, and a cultural language for everyday communication and for a community's literature.

THIS arrangement would be the equivalent in culture for the regional and planetary inter-relations we must look forward to in economic development. The dream of uniform and complete standardisation, the dream of the universal cockney, and of one long street, called Tottenham Court Road or Broadway threading over the globe, and of one language spoken everywhere on all occasions—this dreary dream is the archaic and backward-looking one, although it looks back no further than to the beliefs and philosophy of nineteenth century Coketown, which confused the widening sale of calico and " missionary pocket handkerchiefs " with the spread of culture.

CULTURE means individuality ; and individuality means a differentiated way of life ; in conceiving of culture, one should think of an orchestra, with each piece and each musician distinct in its functions and capacities, yet supplementing the others, rather than as a massing of mechanical drums, each drum monotonously thumping out the same beat.

VII. REGIONALISM IN U.S.A.

IF France is the oldest exponent of conscious cultural regionalism, one might take the United States as an example of the latent, unconscious cultural process working out in much the same way. Before the Civil War there had grown up in the United States a number of differentiated regions, each of which had its characteristic polity and art and way of life. New England, Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, had distinct and special traditions; and in New England and New York particularly the poetic cycle of regionalism had begun. Hawthorne, Thoreau, Emerson, were New Englanders first; and Americans by the grace of certain political connections which they neither repudiated altogether nor over-valued; and although Whitman and Melville were in their conscious political philosophies identified with "these states" as a unity, one sees in their work the local influence of the brisk cosmopolitan port of New York, adventuring out to other parts of the world, or, on shore, welcoming each new cargo of men and goods.

THE cycle of prose and the cycle of practical action were disturbed by the intervention of the Civil War and the great drag westward to the areas where great loot could be obtained in land and oil and railroads; but in the writings and activities of Liberty Hyde Bailey, the cycle of prose was not altogether forgotten; and in the various projects outlined by the recent New York State Housing and Regional Planning Commission, the cycle of activity had been tentatively suggested, only, by the fortunes of politics, to be abandoned—partly no doubt because of the insufficient preparations through the channels of literature and culture. People are moved by idea-forces (to use a French sociologist's term), and not by practical plans; this means that the success or failure of actual projects of regional improvement depend not merely upon the qualities of the projects themselves, from the standpoint of engineering or geotechnics, but upon the spiritual participation of the community as a whole in the design. Cultural regionalism, so far from being an embellishment to technical plans, is an indispensable introduction to them. There is no technical or economic programme that is worthy the name that does not imply certain cultural ends; and there can be no intelligent activity until these ends are projected and set in motion in people's minds. Regionalism must rely upon the artist, the poet, the philosopher to make these aims clear and comprehensible and, above all, desirable, setting up through voluntary effort an ideal of life which shall create counter-movement against the belief in pecuniary values and competitive emulation—which are the dominant idea-forces of financialism, spread through the medium of national advertising.

AFTER the Civil War, to speak of New England was to speak of the surviving regional individuality; but from the nineties onward, this

has ceased to be true, and to-day, it would be absolutely false. In the process of settlement, the Mississippi Basin, and particularly the corn belt, began to be aware of its individuality, and it found itself through the significant writers it produced—Hamlin Garland, Edgar Lee Masters, Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, Vachel Lindsay, Carl Sandburg, and Sinclair Lewis. This Mid-American culture, with its almost continental span, and its insulation from Europe, in spite of the fact that it has absorbed a large quantity of new immigrant stocks, the Scandinavian, the Germans, the Czechs, and the Poles, has produced an individuality of its own in literature which reflects the profound and homely differences that set it off from the rest of the country.

WIDE spans of unbroken prairie land, yellow cornfields and murky cities lighted up by the occasional flare of blast furnaces, easy locomotion and many forms of achieving it, violent windstorms and the imminent possibility of floods along the Mississippi and its tributaries, the absence of definite land boundaries, and the tendency of cities to sprawl in every direction, the security of a civilisation based upon corn and wheat and bacon and coal, with large stores of copper and iron in the tributary regions—these and many other facts have created the individuality of Mid-America, an individuality expressed at its best in the poems of Carl Sandburg, in the short stories of Sherwood Anderson, in the gigantic city plans of D. H. Burnham, in the country houses of Frank Lloyd Wright, the factories of Albert Kahn, and the utilitarian idealism of John Dewey and his disciples. There is bitterness in the midst of their optimism and material satisfaction; the epitaphs of Spoon River and the clumsy dumb tragedies of Theodore Dreiser are eaten with black wormholes; but the bitterness is accompanied by a great energy and buoyancy of life which produces quite a different effect from the shrewder and perhaps deeper pessimism of Edwin Arlington Robinson, who speaks out of an entirely different regional individuality and consciousness.

MISS MARY AUSTIN's interest in the Indians and the culture of the South-West has helped to call attention to still another regional individuality, that of the dry lands, with a co-operative polity based upon the essential needs of irrigation, the "indivisible utility." The way of life fostered in these agricultural dry land communities, similar in some ways to that of the pueblo communities, is not altogether inapplicable to our modern technical organisation; for a modern electric power system, with its water sources or coal mines that must be conserved, and its wire conduits for conducting electricity as the irrigation ditch conducts water, is essentially another indivisible utility which requires a higher degree of co-operation and control for its effectual working than did the coal mine and the steam power plant. This south-western culture is already producing an architecture based upon the native forms of adobe construction, modified to the permanent qualities of

concrete ; and although its art and literature are still relatively meagre, it is plain that another regional individuality is developing.

APART from New England, all these new cultural regions in the United States date from the nineties, when the land was finally covered and the period of pioneering and expansion came to an end. As the period of settlement lengthens one should look for a deepening of these cultural individualities ; for while modern mechanical industry has certain common methods throughout the world and over a limited area of life produces a standardisation, to the effect that intercourse over distance takes place through the use of contrivances for instantaneous communication, there remains a wide area of human activity which is not profoundly affected by our mechanical conveniences, and which allows latitude for choice and free expression and new cultural forms. Without any conscious effort to exploit "local colour," artists like Anderson and Sandburg have expressed the regional individuality of the Middle West ; indeed, they could not help themselves, for the material they worked with was as different from that of New York as the prairie loam is from the hard scrabble of the New England hills.

ONCE we recognise that difference does not imply inferiority, once the other regions of the country become sure enough of their own bottom and reason for existence to stop aping New York, and once, partly as a result of this, the unceasing dominance of New York and Chicago, through their control of finance and advertising, is undermined and lessened—regional cultures will perhaps grow more vigorously, since they will partly represent a conscious effort to make the most of their own resources.

VIII. EPITOME.

THE philosophy of regionalism and the art of regional planning are both very young everywhere, and, of course, not least so in America ; indeed, the first scarcely exists in America, except as it has found incidental expression in the writings of sporadic writers like Henry Thoreau and Liberty Bailey and Mrs. Mary Austin, while regional planning itself (in America as in England), instead of being identified with the general development of the region, cultural, economic, social, has grown up out of the administrative and economic problems connected with the congestion and expansion of great cities. It follows that there has been a hiatus between the cultural and the economic sides of regional planning. An unconscious regionalism has been growing up in the cultural life of England and America, as in other countries, and it has been abetted by the little theatre movement, by the rehabilitation or the founding of regional universities ; but this regionalism has been unsteady on its pins and spasmodic, because it was harnessed to no policy of land-planning, industrial resettlement, civic renewal and city-building. At the same time, all the technical

endeavours in city-planning and industrial exploitation have been weakened and partly misdirected for lack of an accepted philosophy to give them a setting and a purpose, and for lack, too, of an enlightened public, for whom these matters would have a personal as well as a practical appeal.

THE present essay will have served its purpose, if it has shown how intimately related the ideal and the practical, the cultural and the technical aspects of regionalism are ; and how necessary it is to have a common background and a common orientation. The regional movement belongs to no single country ; for there are active plans and projects on foot in regions as far apart as Ireland and Siberia ; nor is it confined to any set of political convictions or principles ; it has had conservative advocates in France, like Charles Maurras, and it has communist exponents to-day in Soviet Russia ; while in England and in the United States it has been largely promoted by that "party of the third alternative," as Mr. Victor Branford has called it, which subscribes to no political programme except a belief in fully using professional and human competence for the greatest advantage of the whole community, without respect to class privileges or biases.

LIKE the system of machine-production, regionalism—which is partly a counter-movement to the dehumanised specialisation and standardisation which was fostered by the older forms of industrialism—has grown slowly as opportunity has offered, adapting itself to circumstances, and promoted at times by those who had no conscious desire to see it come into existence. In the slow, varied and partly involuntary growth of regionalism there is the promise, it may be, of changes more subtle and profound than those than can be embodied in any definite political programme. What we are working for is a new attitude towards our political and industrial institutions, towards the human drama itself, towards the earth upon which it is staged. Our industrialism has been other-worldly : it has blackened and defaced our human environment, in the hope of achieving the abstract felicities of profits and dividends in the industrial hereafter. It is time that we came to terms with the earth, and worked in partnership with the forces that promote life and the traditions that enhance it. Regionalism suggests a cure for many current ills. Focussed in the region, sharpened for the more definite enhancement of life, every activity, cultural or practical, menial or liberal, becomes necessary and significant ; divorced from this context, and dedicated to archaic or abstract schemes of salvation and happiness, even the finest activities seem futile and meaningless ; they are lost and swallowed up in a vast indefiniteness. In this sense regionalism is a return to life ; and, in Gilbert Murray's paraphrase of Euripides, "he who knows, as the long day goes, that to live is happy, has found his heaven."

LEWIS MUMFORD.

BIBLIOGRAPHY :

General : L. Charles Brun : LE REGIONALISME. Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes : THE COMING POLITY ; OUR SOCIAL INHERITANCE. Mukerjee, R. : REGIONAL SOCIOLOGY. Vidal de la Blache : PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY. Frédéric Le Play : LA REFORME SOCIALE, Vol. 4.

Geographic : Jean Brunhes : LA GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE. A. Herbertson : THE MAJOR NATURAL REGIONS. H. Fleure : HUMAN GEOGRAPHY IN WESTERN EUROPE. Fenneman : GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. J. Russell Smith : NORTH AMERICA. M. Newbigin : MAN AND HIS CONQUEST OF NATURE.

Economic : G. P. Marsh : THE EARTH AS MODIFIED BY HUMAN ACTION. N. S. Shaler : MAN AND THE EARTH. H. Van Hise : THE CONSERVATION MOVEMENT. L. H. Bailey : THE HOLY EARTH. C. R. Enock : HOW CAN WE SET THE WORLD IN ORDER? Gilbert and Pogue : THE ENERGY RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES. Benton Mackaye : NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO LAND SETTLEMENT.

Political and Cultural : C. B. Fawcett : THE PROVINCES OF ENGLAND. J. Sanchez de Toca : REGIONALISMO, MUNICIPALISMO Y CENTRALIZACION. P. J. Proudhon : DU PRINCIPE FEDERATIF. Fabian Society Pamphlets : NEW HEPTARCHY SERIES ; MUNICIPALIZATION BY PROVINCES. H. J. Laski : THE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS. Vidal de la Blache, in REVUE DE PARIS, December, 1910. Ebenezer Howard : GARDEN CITIES OF TO-MORROW. P. Geddes : CITIES IN EVOLUTION. Mabel Barker : THE REGIONAL SURVEY METHOD IN EDUCATION. A. L. Guerard : AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE. New York State Housing and Regional Planning Commission : FINAL REPORT, May, 1926. The SURVEY GRAPHIC : REGIONAL PLANNING NUMBER, May, 1925. P. Geddes : REPORT ON INDORE.

THIS essay by Mr. Mumford, along with his article entitled "Regionalism and Irregionalism" in the issue of the REVIEW for October, 1927, were prepared under the auspices of the Regional Planning Association of America (Clarence S. Stein, Secretary, 56 West 45 Street), as one of a series of essays and reports on various aspects of community and regional planning.

THE WORLD OF IMAGES AND THE NEW LITERATURE.*

I.

ONE of the most striking features of modern French literature is seen in the abundance and the rapidity of imagery. One seldom comes across a book in which the reader does not see a succession of varied scenes relating to all parts of the world and peoples, seriously evoked and caught in flight. Description, according to Flaubert's method has become exceptional.

It is quite natural that our young novelists should have their own conception of the universe. They have seen in a very short time a vast number of astonishing things. When they were young their older brothers rode bicycles: but these belong to the day of the motor-cycle, the motor-car, the aeroplane and the sea-plane. They live among telephones, wireless and radio. Once upon a time they looked at the photo-albums which they found on their Grandmother's tables: to-day they are familiar with colour-photography and the cinema. Everything seems close to them: journeys are quickly made—illustrated papers and the films bring home to them what they have not been able to see directly for themselves. The planet appears to them a medley of peculiar and wonderful machines and quite small.

THE author of *LA NUIT DE SAINT BARNABÉ* and of *PETITE LUMIÈRE* and *L'OURSE*, M. Alexandre Arnoux, has been one of the first to note what modern civilisation provides for the imagination of children. One of his young heroes sees in a yard the effect of the sun's rays upon a flask of petrol, and this combination gives marvellous results. In the dreams which he relates, fantastic motor 'buses take the place of the ancient wheel of fortune. Electricity plays the part of a fairy in *PETITE LUMIÈRE*, and one of the characters bears the symbolical name of "Potentiel." One discovers an unexpected humour, a world with a new face, for men who have passed a certain age, and in which the children are wonderfully at ease, as among quite natural elements and not more strange than day and night, winter and summer, fire torrents or storms.

L'APPRENTI SORCIER, by M. André Obey, invites us to follow not a child, but a man who has sensibility and spirit, in his walks round the Paris of to-day. Let the reader steel his heart: this trip round Paris makes one giddy. Here are pistons which work in crystal cylinders and pump with a soft purring noise the limpid and rosy

*We owe this article to the courtesy of the Editor of the *REVUE DES DEUX MONDES*. It is in continuation of the article also by M. André Chaumeix, entitled *THE NEW CHILDREN OF THE CENTURY*, translated from the *REVUE DES DEUX MONDES* for the January issue of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*. The two papers together make a substantial contribution to the descriptive sociology of current life in Western Civilization.

petrol which sparkles like champagne, motors which turn slowly in a velvety silence, nickelled clocks on mahogany tables which register with a scintillating needle the 80 revolutions per hour of the fly-wheel of a dynamo : it is a motor showroom which exhibits the usual objects—made by the million from one pattern—unknown to us but familiar to our sons, and which next year will be out of date. By accelerated circumnavigation, says the author, we live in meteoric times which like a flower bloom, bear seed and die in a flash, and which year by year endow man with a colossal fauna more fragile than a hothouse plant.

BUT here we are in the street: don't imagine that you will breathe freely and peacefully; and abandon all hope. The pedestrian has almost disappeared. A few affrighted specimens, according to M. André Obey, shout and gesticulate, stick in the mud, extricate themselves and drag themselves to the terrace of a Café, human seals whose lungs are choked by the chemical atmosphere. The street belongs solely to the motorists. You raise your eyes and look skywards for peace: you are overwhelmed by more striking pictures which advise and prescribe for you, which are there to take the place of your own will. It is the fatal and familiar publicity stunt which mutilates, magnifies and exasperates. This publicity craze vibrates, burns and hurls out colours which strike one like hammer blows.

IN this manner the author takes us from the autodrome to a Rugby Football match, from concert to the cycle track, from the Olympic games to the wireless of the Eiffel Tower. Everywhere sights, rapid sensation, movement, vibration, thrills: here, the aerial Babel which seems beyond our atmosphere in an obscure ether, a kind of jazz and human music: there the invisible and sovereign presence of electric forces—a mauve flash undulated in a tube, an irradiation of glass in which striæ are generated and expanded, always something which is created and transformed, matter in motion.

SUCH is the modern world which L'APPRENTI SORCIER depicts with a complacency which is at once disconcerting and amazing. So great has the habit of picturisation become that M. André Obey, chancing to enter the Senate, witnesses the fall of M. Herriot, and speaks of it in gloating terms, as of a cycle race, or like an episode at Luna Park. For a benevolent sight-seer whom chance has led to the Luxembourg, there is nothing but a series of extravagant visions, a succession of orators who agitate, and an audience full of excitement. Speeches, gestures, jackets, frock-coats, bald heads, the President's bell, white or blue bulletins: all these are so much colour, sound, pictures, light, space and movement. Never has a Parliamentary report been made with so picturesque and unconstrained motion. But after having entertained him thus, Parliament had a great surprise in store for our author: two days before Easter he had seen M. Herriot's fall, and he

visualised him sadly in his exile. But twelve days after Easter, having gone for the first time to the Chamber, as he had shortly before been to the Senate, M. Obey saw with great stupefaction the same M. Herriot majestically seated in the Presidential Chair. It was too much for him. "I am overjoyed, it is months since life seemed so worth living. Herriot lounges in his armchair like Charlie Chaplin on the screen: the picture, though a simple one, is endlessly complicated . . . I laugh because this attitude of Herriot teaches me more than the whole of Balzac about our human comedy."

ONE particular scene has struck M. Obey with sadness, overwhelming, unbearable, and inhuman. It is that of lifeless picturisation. He has chanced to enter a picture gallery, but he has no more been able to remain there than it would be possible for many of his contemporaries to read a novel of 400 pages, to listen to a speech for three hours, or to a five-act tragedy in verse. He felt he had left life outside, life, precarious, unstable, rich in contradiction and hazards. On the walls he saw in sterile silence, in the dim light of a museum, moments arrested in flight, fatal, frozen still, cruelly eternal. Cups filled with hearts and brains but not the wine of life. "Here there is nought but inflexible truth, sterilized dreams and poems, a Grévin museum of psychic emanations. What he seeks and desires are of the street and life, the real presence with its showy and illusive cortège, it's the hour which strikes, the day which dawns."

WE take our places, we, breathless travellers, in the procession which marches onwards, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday . . . the endless procession which gives us the illusion of moving forward, of progress, of hope, of something unattainable which, happily, one never attains.

II.

WE find in our times analogous impressions in a considerable number of books of a widely different nature. If I have taken as a starting point the work of M. André Obey, *L'APPRENTI SORCIER*, it is because by nature of its composition, and by the talents of the author it offers a very striking example. It is not a novel, it is a book of essays, a succession of pictures, and the author is conscious of what he is doing. He is both the somewhat surprised witness and the accomplice of a point of view and manner of expression which is of our day. But it suffices to recall what one has read for several months to persuade ourselves to look upon the world as a stage, or to be more exact like a series of plays. The same thing applies to the writers of the last thirty or forty years. Observation leads one to note the same progression of the mind.

M. PAUL MORAND, by his brief and striking annotation, M. Jean Giraudoux, by the subtle profusion of his poetical style, were among

the first to grasp in their flight all types of the universe. But some writers of quite a different school, both of taste and style, have recently shown the same art of description in fragmentary series, by a succession of small pictures. Here we find a new impressionist style. The case of M. Roland Dorgelès, for instance, is a very striking one: the author of *CROIX DE BOIS* has the epic afflatus rather than a great penchant for ingenious description: he has movement and ardour, and he recalls the somewhat broad style of certain naturalists. His last book, *PARTIR*, is dominated by the idea of travel, of nostalgia, of the pleasure of change, of complex life, mechanical and picturesque of the boat which carries him away with its chance passengers, silhouettes rapidly passing before the eyes.

STILL more marked is the tendency among the younger writers. *LA MALADÈRE*, of M. Barbey, is fundamentally a psychological novel, in which, however, he only displays states of sensibility and few events, but the author does not lose the opportunity to talk to us about jazz, and to pass in panoramic view before the reader's eyes a certain number of scenes, which are nothing but sensations tragically perceived and briefly noted. Among the new poets who have come to the front, one of the most gifted—who unites the gaiety of a boy with an art already assured—an art which is quite classical and remarkable by the harmony and the rhythm of the poetic phrase—depicts in his *STANCES, INSTANCES, ET INCONSTANCES*, scenes of Parisian life and landscapes on the Riviera, and one sees in them, among exotic musicians, strange figures of women, decorations, bars, palaces, and all the picturisations of those who seek blindly for diversion with the sadness of never attaining it. M. Pierre Bost is not an impressionist: he loves narration, he delights in its construction, and frankly he gives thoughtful care to its composition: but his last book, *CRISE DES CROISSANCE*, begins with the picture of a provincial Café. And all the movement, all the characters and the concert fill pages in which are stamped, almost without connection, the succession of impressions upon a visitor whose faculties are limited to seeing and hearing. In the *ETUDES DE NU*, M. Gil Robin, who has delicacy and sensibility of style and good taste, even in a subtle and colourful style of expression, finds pleasure in being a virtuoso of imagery, and is the first to smile at it. To celebrate an admired woman, he says:

"Thy hat was of a dazzling straw. Lace fluttered on its edges. The shimmering of silk and the sparkling of spangles were cloud-like. Pearls and silk intermingled. Thy beauty was magical. One dared not affirm it. Wrapt in fiery tinsels, silks and voltaic lamps, dazzling with scintillation."

Later on the author passes judgment on his mental habits. "I kill the freshest plants in order to distil their essence." One imagines the woman answering gently, as he does: "Let us be simple if we can. I offer you happiness without a cloud You love naked

souls : for God's sake do not smother the spirit of your phrases with lace !” In fact, the habit of imagery leads to the transposition of everything, and picturisation ends by evoking fewer sentiments and ideas than metaphors.

AMONG the causes which explain this way of looking at things one must attribute assuredly the influence of the cinema. Either we like or do not like the cinema, but it is an art which has its own proper laws, founded on the study of light and movement, and it is a powerful art destined to have a wider and wider diffusion. We owe to it, without being conscious of it, much fresh knowledge. We can easily imagine that it will contribute vastly to the education of our children. Natural history, botany, geography, have already made remarkable film subjects. The slow motion camera has facilitated the study of natural and mechanical phenomena. The picturisation of facts help tremendously to understand, and with much more ease than by the reasoning of logic. The cinema has become a habit : how, therefore, could it fail to exercise its influence on thought and outlook ?

THEREFORE, it is precisely noteworthy in its present period of existence by three features which may be applied to the literary art of many new books. What is most striking, though its characteristics may at first appear contradictory, is the rapidity, the diversity and the monotony of its imagery. Rapidity : in ten minutes the spectators can see persons, monuments, or scenes from all parts of the world. Diversity : at the same sitting the most modern scenes of American civilisation may be seen on the screen at the same time as the mediæval traditions of Morocco, the most backward peoples, cannibals, and the elementary races of the globe. Monotony : as by degrees the inter-communication of countries is facilitated and connections established, they become more or less uniform in character. Recently, a film showing ten sea-ports was exhibited—they were all very much alike, though taken in widely different latitudes : one may see polo played in London, Bizerta, New York, Simla, or in Japan. One may see on the screen Turks wearing trilby hats and the desert overrun with taxis. Thus a vast world of imagery presents itself to the young writers—a vast reservoir of comparisons, a multi-coloured bouquet of souvenirs, associations and metaphors which rise up in succession and fade away—the whole sensible universe complicated, extraordinary, in which the mechanical, the solar spectrum and the exotic are all dazzlingly intermingled.

III.

THIS art is very different from that which has been generally practised by our writers. In the new literature, imagery has a value of itself and by itself. It has, and quite necessarily, its resonance and thought,

as it is marked in particular with M. Jean Giraudoux, where it expresses subtle shades. It may even determine acts, as may be seen in the last novel by M. René Crevel, *LA MORT DIFFICILE*. But in fine, it is above all sensation, and as such, psychologically fairly short: picture evokes picture, as one sensation gives rise to another. A mere succession, or collection of impressions follow one another, giving a fragmentary aspect to the page.

THE reason for this is clear. Imagery has not generally been, even amongst those who have made a more general use of it, like Hugo, anything but the sensible form of idea. First it is a development, then a shortening. But it enters immediately in its place, it is an elucidating link in reasoning, it does not exist by or for itself, but it is linked up in reality in an intellectual current. Very different is the manner of its application when it is a question of registering a sensation without drawing its principal interest from the echo which it will have in the mind and from the psychological elements which will soon submerge it. There is here something particular to a period, where the notions spread with more or less precision on the sub-conscious life, and, on the Freudian theories, are apt to attach less importance to clear and distinct judgment, than to the instinctive and obscure ways of the human mind. Here we leave Cartesianism and the fine laws of understanding for the research of a mental activity which has no precise name and which is something like thought seized at its birth.

THUS is explained the fact that this most varied spectacle of a universe, henceforth better known by its appearances and familiarity, inspires no idea of ensemble. The exotism of a Loti had its unity and almost a philosophy of its own. What the homesick traveller sought under all the skies, was forgetfulness of destiny, and yet he found destiny everywhere, the figures of desire and death. From this the multiple sights he had seen in the world resolved or grouped themselves under a few, and naturally associated themselves with the idea which he had formed of human conditions. The images were only multiple illustrations of an unique truth. In the same way, the magnificent poet of modern civilisation, Rudyard Kipling, who, from his youth, has seen everything, understood and accepted everything, has grasped the relentlessness of fate and the beauty of human energy. There are no works more replete with images than his, and one sees in them a panoramic vision from the locomotive and the boat to the animals of the jungle, from the builders of bridges to the holy men of India; in one word all that the East and West contain of mystery and invention. But, everywhere, one feels that above this chaotic multiplicity, moving and disorderly, the splendid and strong notion of thought which conceives, which organises, which subdues, which unites and which maintains, and which strives to establish order and harmony, where natural forces foster chaos. So strong is this feature

that the poetical work which seems the most conglomerated and diverse, and the most filled with images drawn from the whole universe, from all technical work, from all trades, throws off suddenly what it has of a striking nature in detail in order to receive the unity of a great and simple light, both intellectual and mystic: service, expression, team-work, discipline and human duty. It is worthy of remark that Anglo-Saxon literature—which up to recent times, as since the imperial period, began also to submit to the method of analysis which dissolves, and of impressionism—has been at the same time most careful of detail, which at first sight was the most scattered, as also the most amenable to digressions as to imagery, at the same time the most faithful to the focussed point of view. It may be that it owes this character to Puritan influences which have weighed upon it for a long time, and thus it has found itself naturally cleansed, after having been retarded by all sorts of realities, to give rise in the reader's mind to the notion of Destiny.

ALWAYS have the arts and literature, like others, sought to arrest the moments of fleeting life; they have aimed at eternity, and in *L'APPRENTI SORCIER*, M. André Obey, in a fanciful manner, reproaches painting with doing the same thing. By a contrary tendency, the attention of the writers of to-day, goes, not towards that which endures, or towards that which one would like to see endure, but towards that which passes. One is interested not in that which is permanent in its essence, but in that which is fleeting. One wishes to see the world in formation, or even in decline. We no longer say, like Lamartine, "O Time suspend thy flight!" We no longer say, like Goethe, "Arrest thy flight, fleeting moment, thou art so beautiful!" It is change which pleases, which stirs the imagination, which leads on to a sort of plenitude, of ecstasy and of contentment—an impression which is, however, a momentary one, because this change is more or less without hope. No one changes in order to be better, because one has discovered that inquietude renews itself, and that once a thing is attained it crumbles to dust; we change for the sake of changing, and there is a moment at least when one reproaches oneself for not doing something else, and when one has the shock and the emotion of expectancy.

M. HENRY DE MONTHERLANT has written on this subject some stirring pages under the title of *LES VOYAGEURS TRAQUÉS*. He has analysed with austerity, good humour and pitiless clairvoyance, this state of the mind: "The more often sights, beings, morals and the material side of adventures are renewed," writes he, "the more we see that we, at heart, we ourselves are immobile; we know all the reactions that we shall have, all the faults a hundred times committed, and which we shall make again, all the words we have uttered a thousand times and which we shall utter again . . . we can say approximately which

of our inconsequences will react, foreseen like a theatrical effect. And I have another thirty years to repeat this inexpiable ego. How shall I hold on till the end ! " The author relates that he has brusquely renounced Grenada, because he has not had the expected pleasure. Whither go ? Absolute liberty is a sort of plague to the hopeless, and the slaves of their liberty are the worst slaves. Captives of their omnipotence, says M. de Montherlant, of this force which constrains them to follow their bent and to wander, always chasing all the preys of the world, conquerors without hope who catch but do not enjoy their prey, they go like these wild animals, which do not live on the prey which they have struck and killed, till the day when in death, which simplifies all things, they are permitted to stop.

HERE, brilliantly expressed by a young author, is the state of mind of the lover of change. His sadness is consuming. *LES NOUVELLES LITTÉRAIRES*, in commenting upon the article "New Children of the Century," has somewhat reproached me with finding them gloomy. I willingly admit that in the manifestation of their torment there should be all that which is added by literary transposition. I know full well that the habit of describing them diminishes greatly unrest and melancholy. But the analysis, made by M. de Montherlant with so much care, is very curious : it does not encourage one to discover less deception and uncertainty in a large part of the new generation. Moreover, the sadness is natural to all philosophy founded on change. Heraclitus said in the long ago that everything fades away and that one never bathes twice in the waters of the same river. Tritely has legend made this Greek sage the ancestor of metaphysical melancholia.

IV.

WHITHER will lead this taste for impressionism, this frenzy for change, this tendency for the discontinuous and for the succession of pictures ? Without doubt it will lead to a renewal of intellectual discipline, to a rejuvenated desire to understand. In the same way that the abuse of will power and of egotism brings a return to sentiment, so will the excessive cult of sensation bring one back to intellectual operations and to the respect of understanding. This is already noticeable in the observations recently made by M. Jacques de Lacretelle in his *LETTRES ESPAGNOLES*, or by M. Robert de Traz in his book *LE DÉPAYSEMENT ORIENTAL*, or by M. Paul Morand and M. Jean Giraudoux.

THE rapidity of imagery and the growing uniformity of the world invite the retention only of the essential differences, those which come from nature and the soul. All regions may be similar, all buildings similar, factories and machines similar, costumes and customs similar. There, however, remains the fact that the light of the sun is unequally

distributed over the globe, and that individuals have their own personal characteristics and passions. In his work entitled *LE DÉPAYSEMENT ORIENTAL*, M. Robert de Traz insists that the human beings he has seen and with whom he has spoken during his voyage retain their individuality, such as the secular traditions and their beliefs have made them. The diffusion of material civilisation is only a shadow of the universe: the races retain intimately their own originality and the life of mortals is one solitude common to all. Thus literature may chance to return to its proper status, which is the study of the human mind and to restore to picturisation its place in the ensemble of intellectual activity.

SIMILARLY the taste for rapidity and change, the taste for the fragmentary and the successive ends by fatiguing, and one day the writer feels, in common with their leaders, the need, not only to see, but to understand. Then follows the linking up of cause and effect, the bond which unites events, the signification and the direction of phenomena once again perturb the mind. The panorama of the world which passes before one's eyes seems to have no picturesque interest if it is not grasped and ordered by reason. It is desirable that details only appear as part of the ensemble to which they relate, and the excess of the mechanical leads to the rational. And for this work of the spirit it is necessary to renounce the flaming vision of the transitory, and once again to love the work of thought, meditation, and even contemplation, and to adopt in another sense what Barbey d'Aurevilly styled, with magnificence, "patrician slowness."

It may be that we mistake ourselves concerning that which is for the mind the representation of the world when it is a question of literature. Science is based on the observation of facts; action needs the knowledge of the exterior world: the first rule of writers is similarly the submission to the object. But as soon as the moment is ripe for expression, nothing proves that the exact reproduction of imagery suffices to literary art. On the contrary, everything leads one to think that the great writer is the one who transposes and creates. True images are not those we see: these are found in the poets, who borrow them from realism, but who transform them by their magical secret and make them into a reality of mind far superior to that of the sensible world. The exterior world may be one of mechanics. But for the soul, the world of imagery is that of myths.

ANDRÉ CHAUMEIX.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE RULE OF FORCE.

THOSE who have read an account of the welcoming of Charles II. on his entry into London to take possession of the English throne, may recall how at one point on the route there were drawn up some 30,000 men belonging to the army of the Commonwealth. This army was the only considerable fighting-force in the country, its quality was superb, and we may safely assume that to its collective sense the event that it had been brought there to witness, and even to render more imposing and spectacular, was utterly repugnant. Yet there it stood in array, immobilised and helpless, incapable of realising its desire to overthrow again the cause upon which it had trampled a few years before, or even of making the least effort in that direction. Moreover, this incident forms only the most arresting phase in a mainly peaceful process through which the grip of the army upon the nation was gradually loosened and the army itself finally disbanded. The return in most minds to their former ascendancy of old associations and habits, and the resulting loss in minds in which there was no such reaction of the assurance and decision that had previously been theirs, these were the influences that, helped on by the diplomatic manœuvring of persons in authority, reduced the army of the New Model to ineffectiveness, and rendered it powerless to stay either the downfall and ruin of the cause with which it was so peculiarly and intimately connected or afterwards its own piecemeal dispersal.

THE episode is perhaps sufficient in itself to refute the dictum that the world is ruled by force, and to show that the rule of force is very partial and limited. It may be well, however, to distinguish between the rule of force in the sense of the dictum and the use thereof. By all, except uncompromising Anarchists, the use of force would be recognised as a large necessity. Reason and right will not always prevail of themselves, and therefore must be corroborated with a reasonable and rightful use of force.¹ What the dictum would seem to mean is that the course of things is determined very largely by force operating in opposition, or at least with indifference to right. The occasions for such a use of force are of various kinds. For instance, there is frequent, if not habitual, discord between the capacity to see what is desirable and the capacity to see what is attainable but not necessarily desirable, the insight into right ends and the insight into apt means, and where these are in conflict immediate victory will usually rest with the latter capacity, since it is the better suited for dealing with things in their immediate relations. Again, there is frequent conflict between established ideas and other ideas, often both newer and truer, though not necessarily either, that would modify or supplant them and the institutions embodying them. In such conflicts, established ideas at least in the beginning usually dispose of far greater stores of force or possess far greater facilities for collecting and utilising it. Again, disputes between communities or sections of communities are of course often determined through the use of force or the prospect of its use.

¹It is sometimes said that force should never be used to suppress opinion. But one may question whether this can be admitted absolutely. Thus there is, I suppose, such a thing as insincere opinion. A case in point would be the legal interdiction of Paganism by the Emperor Theodosius and his successors. To some the denunciation of a truce that had lasted for many years may seem regrettable. But by that time the observance of the ancient rites by official and aristocratic circles and the other adherents of a lifeless and anachronistic culture-tradition may have become fundamentally dishonest, a matter chiefly of mistaken sentiment, the outcome of which was a dividing and unnerving cult of make-believe in the midst of critical actualities and grave public peril.

WITH regard to all such cases it should be observed first that the success of the less worthy cause is often temporary. The ultimate failure of the armed Empire of Rome in its conflict with unarmed Christianity is a signal illustration of this. And preponderance in force may not win even temporary success where it is confronted with the moral superiority arising from a fervent conviction of right; for right to some extent is might—"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just."

NEXT, the triumph of might over right where apparently enduring is likely to involve—may even always and necessarily involve—losses, especially of an immaterial kind, far exceeding the gains. In support of this contention, I would instance a stroke of policy that on a first impression appears to be an excellent vindication of unscrupulous statecraft, namely, the taking advantage of a time of weakness and confusion by the forces of the Fourth Crusade to seize Constantinople and achieve the temporary overthrow of the Greek Empire. The political, economic, and even cultural advantages—the gains in territory and trade, and the pregnant art-suggestions—thus secured by the Venetians, the chief movers in the affair, may well have been more than neutralised in kind by the injuries involved in the general ruin of the Greek Empire, and this even apart from the consequences of the Turkish irruption into Europe, for which the way was thus prepared. Moreover, this apparent triumph of might was perhaps a considerable cause not only of the hardening and debasing of Venetian statesmanship and of the Venetian constitution, but also of the lowering of public standards and the growth of Machiavellian methods in Italy and the consequent pervasive disunion and mistrust, all of which helped to bring about the subjection of the country, including ultimately Venice herself, to foreign rule.²

I WOULD also suggest that few things tend so surely and swiftly to demoralise the armed forces of a state as their use merely as instruments of force. A couple of examples may serve to enforce this point. In the year 215 the Emperor Antoninus Caracalla, enraged by the gibes and insults of the populace of Alexandria, proceeded to let loose the troops among them and order an indiscriminate slaughter, which continued for several days. On his assassination not long after this deed of savage folly, discipline collapsed in the armies assembled for the war against Parthia, and there set in that half-century of military demoralisation and disorganisation which brought the Empire to the verge of ruin and inflicted injuries from which it never recovered. My second example is from English history and the Hundred-Years' War, and is concerned with the sudden, signal and decisive change in the fortunes of the combatants that took place in the reign of Henry VI. This change is, I would suggest, attributable primarily not to the intervention of St. Joan, however great the effect thereof in reviving the confidence of her fellow-countrymen, but to the progressive demoralisation of the English forces. Despite the immense prestige and ascendancy resulting from Agincourt, and such later resounding triumph as Crevant and Verneuil,

²Respecting the "time of weakness and confusion" in the Greek Empire, it may be relevant here to note how that condition originated. Some years previously the Emperor Andronicus, a member of the illustrious Comnenian dynasty, and in some ways an excellent ruler though guilty of some terrible crimes, had after his overthrow been done to death in the following manner. Already fearfully mutilated, he was suspended head-downwards between two pillars in the public theatre, and in that position slowly hacked to death by the soldiers, the whole populace looking on. Deep as the demoralisation in army and people alike, to which it gave expression, the intensification of such demoralisation through this permitted spectacle must have been great indeed. Hence one is not surprised to find it followed in quick succession by the ignominious loss of Bulgaria, and the yet more ignominious collapse before the assault of the Crusaders.

indiscipline was already rife, and the explanation, I think, is that these forces were being used to wage what had degenerated into an aimless and indefensible war of conquest.

THE idea that the world is ruled by force is obviously connected with the idea that struggle and conflict have been the principal factor in human progress. This idea, which appears in its mildest form in the excessive insistence on the virtues of economic competition, has perhaps been most confidently upheld on the ground of the success of force in creating and developing the modern state.³ But it has, perhaps, drawn its chief support from the Darwinian theory, especially the Neo-Darwinian version, which at one time enjoyed so complete and unquestioned an ascendancy. That theory, of course, is now much contested. Personally, I doubt whether a true conception of the operation of force or of the merits of methods of help and of conflict respectively, in social and organic evolution, can be obtained apart from a true conception of values, human and subhuman.⁴

P. J. HUGHESDON.

WOMEN AND (SYNTHETIC) WINE.

WHEN against both argument and contempt one has maintained a thesis, how large is the gratitude with which the relieving columns of a book are hailed. There are many who will regard Judge Ben B. Lindsay's book, *THE REVOLT OF MODERN YOUTH*,* as the triumph of a wise, tolerant and just man over the bigotries of convention and the cruelties of the herd. Those of the right comstock breed will regard the Judge as a singularly successful incarnation of the Devil. There are yet others who, recognising in him the courage of the soldier and an almost maternal kindness, will yet think this American of most importance as an instance of the new Paganism that in the modern world is from day to day obliterating and superseding the landmarks of Christendom. Those who most fear this Paganism will most strongly welcome this book. Rarely do they have as text for their sermon an example so clear.

It has long been arguable, as they have argued, that the stresses and griefs of our modern life are no mere growing pains but spring from a deeper disease. That disease is very hard to analyse: nearly all social study heretofore has been a mere collecting of symptoms. The tongue that stammers, the hand that trembles, the mind that forgets, have all been discovered and recorded, and yet we have not named the disease. Perhaps the fear of what we half perceive has held us, for the sociologist is not only

*The story of the integration of the British Isles since the coming of the Saxons might afford a good example of the relative value in this matter of peaceful and warlike methods respectively. One might also usefully consider here the work already achieved by the League of Nations in the inter-state sphere. And of course the use of force has very varying justification according to prevailing culture and conditions.

⁴I have tried to outline a theory of value in two brief Communications to the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, namely, *VALUE AND THE SUFFICIENT REASON* (Vol. xvii, No. 1), and *FORTUNE AS A SOCIOLOGICAL FACTOR* (Vol. xviii, No. 2). In the former I have tried to consider value *sub specie aeternitatis*, in the latter as operating under conditions of space and time. But both statements are very summary and need revising. Further, in a contribution to *NATURE* (No. for 17th Dec., 1927), I have argued that the principle of natural selection admits of being amended or reinterpreted in a way that would greatly reduce the importance of the struggle for existence as a factor in organic evolution, and would assign the chief importance to co-operative activity.

³In collaboration with Wainwright Evans.

physician but patient as well, since he also is a man, and it may be, it may be, that there is upon mankind a disease we will not name. The hand of Justice trembles upon a rusty sword, the tongue of the statesman stammers, the mind of man forgets honour and courage and all the code of our fathers, and still we dare not speak.

LET us like wise physicians consider if there may not have been other cultures that died of a like disease. We may be bolder then: it is not of ourselves that we talk and the fearful syllables come easier to us. One instance lies open to our eyes—that strong power that girded the earth with legions, that made straight all roads and held high lordship over all men that live and die. They were broken with the sword and the pilum, on the new white roads they kneeled to their master to hear the commands he should give them, and no words came. For Cæsar's eye was fixed and his lip was sealed and the pen fell from his heavy hand. We cannot tell, we may never know, what was that disease. The soldiers and the engineers made of all the world a hall in which the poets and philosophers could cry aloud their message, and the message was never spoken. To-day we have conquered as Rome conquered, and as Rome fell we fall. For all the earth is conquered by the West and awaits its orders, and hears only the thin high wailing of the ghosts. The soldiers have made a silence, the engineers can carry our words to a million hearers and we tell the listening continents that a lord is marrying a lady, that a Jew has grown rich, that a lord has divorced his lady. "Iron Widow's Death House Drama," shout our papers: the news has come 4,000 miles in a minute, and this is the news that comes.

If this were all we might still have hope. Fools there have been in plenty always, and God's blessing go with them: there are worse things in the world than fools. But to those that watch this is not all, for they believe that every folly and corruption of our age is mirrored by the age of the Cæsars, that each is a symptom of the same disease. A standard is broken, a code forgotten—and church or temple stands empty, the life of the family withers, and men have lost their honour. Of all these calamities the fate of the family is the best index of decay, for the family is the keystone of that arch through which mankind marched two thousand years ago which bears on either face a word carved, one by Paganism, one by Christendom, "Civis": "Christianus."

FOR Rome and for our own age the health of the family is the health of the people. In Rome the family was destroyed slowly by divorce and repudiation until Justinian and the Church set hand upon the evil and saved for the barbarian what they could not save for Rome. On the sanctity of marriage, on the holding together of the family depend all that is vital in morals and education, all the practice of virtue and the service of the state. Marriage itself, on which so much rests, rests itself on religion. The arch on which the house of life is built is builded on a sacrament, on sprinkled corn, on broken bread which shall last when the rocks are weathered. Confarreatio gave Rome her citizens as the sacrament of marriage has held Christendom together. If we can see on our modern marriage the same shadow that fell on the Roman, our thesis is well nigh proved and the worst symptom of the disease is discovered in us also.

AND from the West comes the new Pagan with the calm courage of the Stoic and the kindness of the master of many slaves. Our American might well have written the words "*Hinc descendit maris atque feminæ conjunctio quam nos matrimonium appellamus.*" They are in the very spirit of his book:

"I BELIEVE in marriage and the demand of it that it shall mean the love of one man for one woman in a harmony and companionship—if I may speak personally—as perfect as that which I have always had with my own wife. When it does not mean that or something like it, then I am unable to see that it is marriage, regardless of whether there has been a marriage ceremony or not. *The love of one man for one woman is marriage. Nothing else is.* The marriage ceremony is simply the public avowal of a man and a woman that such a relationship exists between them in all its fullness; and it is further a formal recognition on the part of Society that such a relationship exists between them. If it shall later cease to exist I see no clear reason why Society should keep up the fiction that it does." (p. 137.)

EXACTLY! the intent of the parties determines concubinitus or connubium.

"I AM perfectly willing to regard Marriage as a religious rite, just as I am ready to regard a contract to pay for a suit of clothes as a religious rite. If I am honest I will pay if I can; and if I am honourable I will be a good husband to the limit of my ability. In that sense all right conduct is religious. But the theological concept of marriage, as a thing registered in Heaven, where they don't have the institution themselves, by the way, is something else again. We've got to get rid of it with all speed." (p. 174.)

So much for the Pagan conception (if Judge Lindsay will allow such a word in a discussion on marriage) of marriage as a civil contract pure and simple. Next we have that outlook that in the Pagan world led to the exposure of children

"INTO this new order of things, if it ever comes, Birth Control may enter as a factor of safety. Birth Control, when science has finally perfected adequate, certain, and easy means of contraception, would mean that there would be no unwanted children. Thus there perhaps would be less likelihood of headlong marriages. The impulse towards love (*sic*) would have free and normal satisfaction in a type of marriage easily dissolved; and couples who found, in due time, that they were fitted to remain together indefinitely, and to undertake the joint responsibility of children with a fair chance of carrying that big undertaking through happily and willingly, would deliberately have children." (p. 179.)

FOLLOWS inevitably the strong Pagan contempt and dislike of weakness.

"THERE would, I say, rise up again in this country a dominant strain, dominant by reason of its natural fitness; and along with it would go at least a partial crowding out, through birth control and other eugenic agencies, of the thousands of unfit and decadent bipeds who now swarm over this country like noxious insects."

AND so, when these "noxious insects"—the phrase is worthy of those great eugenisists, Bishop Hatto and Lord Foulon—have been smoked out, we move on to a new order and a new control—

"IN such a social order, should it ever develop, the unfit of the human species would virtually cease to reproduce their kind. In fact, such reproduction would probably be stopped practically altogether. Under such conditions Society might face a situation in which the state would require persons, who were not legally licensed to have children, to practice Birth Control. The license to have children might, in such circumstances, be made supplementary to the marriage contract—which would be equivalent to saying that we would then have two kinds of marriage contracts, the one sanctioning the conception of children and the other merely sanctioning cohabitation."

SHALL we add a new "Republic" to the records of the Pagan world and, where Plato set his priests over the juggling oracle, put in our colder surgeons, the Companions of the Syringe and the Douche?

To this there is only one answer from those who keep the marriage vow and from those that break it. A man will not ask for a licence to commit fornication, a man will not ask for a licence to beget children on the woman he has married.

THIS man has saved hundreds of girls from misery: the tales are told in his book and they could clearly be multiplied to infinity. Strong and wise and gentle he stands above us, and will never comprehend why we turn from him to a dark rough road and clasp on again the fetters he has unlocked. For he will never know what moves the hearts of Christian men and women towards an irrevocable vow. He cannot see how from one stock are born

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

the austerities of Saint Dominic and the roaring lust of Rabelais. The monk in his cell, the drunkard in the brothel, both exalt that union that the one denies with his mind, the other with his body. In marriage, as we have known it, there are these two things—that a man has sworn an oath, that a man has given his word. We are not children when we do these things, and we know their meaning. We are not hucksters at a bargain. There are those who will not, perhaps who must not, take on themselves this load: there are those too weak who fall beneath it. Yet it is not a burden like Pilgrim's that can tumble from our backs, but a pack that we are taking to our journey's end.

GEOFFREY DAVIES.

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY makes the interesting announcement that a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial has enabled the Social Science Research Council of America to proceed with its plan for establishing a JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS.

THIS Journal is designed to provide scholars in history, economics, political science, sociology, statistics, cultural anthropology, and human geography, with citations and systematic abstracts of all significant publications, whether factual studies or contributions to theory, written in any language, which are of interest to the social sciences. It is hoped that, in the course of time, this Journal may perform for the social sciences the same sort of fundamental service in the promotion of research that *Biological Abstracts* performs for biological sciences and *Chemical Abstracts* for chemical sciences. The Journal will be issued monthly and printed in English. The value of the contents, rather than the form of the publication (whether book, book review, article, report, pamphlet, or what-not), will in general be the criterion for inclusion. It is estimated that at the outset at least ten thousand abstracts a year will be made. Adequate cross-referencing and indexing will be provided. Since the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations has just authorised the establishment of an international abstracting service in the social sciences, the Journal will co-operate in this international plan.

THE estimated cost of the Journal is \$65,000 per annum. The grant made by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial consists of a guaranty fund of \$500,000 available over a period of ten years. Not more than \$65,000 can be drawn in any one year. In the later years the maximum drafts are substantially reduced. This generous provision justifies the Social Science Research Council in starting the Journal, although the estimated cost for ten years is \$650,000—not \$500,000. It is believed that students of the social sciences will give their support to the Journal promptly by becoming subscribers. Indeed, it is hoped that the Journal will become largely, if not wholly, self-sustaining before the guaranty expires.

A LAYMEN'S CHURCH.

MEMBERS of the old Social Psychology Group of the Sociological, remembering the organising ability which Miss M. E. Robinson devoted to the initiating and maintaining of that group, will be particularly interested in an effort to launch a "Laymen's Church" now being made by Miss Robinson. The following extracts are taken from her circular announcing the venture:

"THE general public need, and would very much like, a 'laymen's church' of which the services, held on a Sunday afternoon or evening, would consist in stories—mainly biographies, but also fairy and folk tales, Bible stories, narratives belonging to world history, nature stories, &c.—told by a gifted and well-trained story-teller. There

would also be readings of poetry and essays, as often as possible by the authors themselves; music of both the past and the present; a Bible reading; a familiar hymn or two; and a few minutes of silence."

"THE pastor would be versed in applied psychology, in order that, as father—or mother—confessor, he—or she—could help enquirers to make the best of themselves, and to overcome faults which prevented them from being happy, successful and useful to others."

"He ought, also, to give lessons on home life and hygiene to parents, adolescents and betrothed men and women; and he might lecture on demography, the mental causes of war, the origin of hatreds and similar themes."

"THERE would be many activities which would enable the members to act up, without self-consciousness or self-righteousness, to the visions that were shown them on the Sundays. For instance, there might be a gardening club; a nursing sisterhood; an ideal-homes exhibition committee; an economics brotherhood; a Bible-study group; a prayer circle, concerned specially, perhaps, with divine healing; a series of séances; a drama troupe; a book-and-picture Mudie society; a choral association; a musical appreciation company; a literature class, and so on."

"As much as possible the leaders of the church associations would use existing institutions rather than establish new ones. For example, it is to be hoped that they would persuade the whole congregation to join the League of Nations Union and the New Health Society; and that they would take advantage of the evening institutes in the neighbourhood for learning any sciences, arts and industries which they wished to master in order to help themselves and the others."

"THE church would, indeed, be like a large family the members of which were always promoting one another's prosperity—but not at the expense of outsiders—and cultivating each other's personality. Each would be expected to bring the characteristic gifts of the rest into use, and not to demand self-sacrifice of anyone."

"THE works of the church would, in fact, be neither "charities" nor, for the most part, mere amusements like dancing and whist drives; but well-conceived, educative enterprises of the nature, to some extent, of social experiments."

JUDGE GREENHALGH.

DEATH has removed a notable member of Council of the Sociological Society in the person of J. Stobart Greenhalgh. He had served actively on the Council since the re-establishment of the Society at Leplay House. His tall, dignified, and even noble figure was the appropriate exterior of an inner life serene and courteous, gentle and generous. In bearing and in conduct he was the chevalier *sans peur et sans reproche*. His career was marked by achievements in public life corresponding to these qualities of mind and body. After serving as a Deputy-judge in Rangoon (one feels sure that the facts of his judicial life would verify the idea suggested by his personality that he was the very type of the *Bon Juge*), he returned to England about thirty years ago; and at once entered on a career of social service which was maintained unintermittently till his death. His activities were concentrated on those modifications of environment which provide the material and social conditions of the "good life." Thus he was a pioneer, with continuous support and direction, of that housing movement which is now so well established under the name of "Garden City." But he was fully alive to the need of investigation and research precedent to action on a large-scale plan. Social Survey was therefore intimately associated in his judicious mind with Social Service. And, moreover, the promotion and development of social surveys, as the indispensable basis of a sociology genuinely scientific, secured from him an understanding sympathy and an active support. From this all too brief obituary there must not be omitted a reference to the maintenance and reinforcement of all his fine personal qualities, and the strengthening and extending of his public services, which came from marriage with a woman of richly varied gifts and untiring energy. Like her husband, Mrs. Stobart Greenhalgh has been a good friend to the Sociological Society since its reorganisation in relation to the manifold activities carried on at Leplay House.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE CITY MANAGER: by Leonard D. Whyte: Social Science Studies—
Directed by the Local Community Research Committee of the University
of Chicago—No. IX. University of Chicago Press. 1927. 15s.

HERE is a book claiming and needing to be considered—widely, fully and fairly considered—and this in two distinct ways, each indispensable. And these all the more because its author has mainly, and no doubt wisely, though not exclusively, concentrated on one—the demand of the practical citizen interested in improving the efficiency and economy of the municipal activities so necessary for the everyday life of the community, and the immediate and essential needs of its citizens. It is primarily obvious that for their comings and goings to and fro, they need not only streets, but good ones, well made, well repaired, well cleansed, well lit, and with such due facilities for speediest locomotion as need be, so that waste of time, and thus of wealth, may be minimised. Public safety has to be attended to—whence from the municipal watchmen of the past we have come to the modern police: while of these again fewer are needed in proportion as other civic services improve. And so we might go over the whole city's activities, in concrete fashion, with their improvement as an aim. The industrial age, with its enormous growth and increase of working towns, has thus long been compelled to evolve more and more of municipal government; and this has been obtained by the usual representative and election methods, essentially as for parliaments. Such municipal bodies have naturally represented the defects of their electors, sometimes more than their qualities. Hence so much of the weaker individualism, too easily content to muddle through, as has been so much the case in British municipalities, yet also applying individual interests and methods of acquisitiveness to the purse of the city, with neglect of functionings, as has more frequently the reproach among American municipalities, some of the greater ones specially. Is it asked—why the greater? Because it becomes less and less easy to realise, to organise for, or to deal with the needs of communities as they grow larger; and more and more difficult for the electors to keep an eye on their representatives, so that the unscrupulous can more and more profit by their weakness. "The wolf cares not how many the sheep may be." The representative system in practice thus has not assured efficiency, as it hoped and promised. Yet beside these two evil alternatives of municipal government, tending to be less or more inept on one hand, or else more or less corrupt and even predatory on the other—in brief more or less inclining to be foolish or knavish—there is a third and better alternative—that of true fathers of their city, not simply ordinarily efficient and honest, but with public insight, constructive imagination, creative initiative, *so with* all these qualities yielding civic progress accordingly, even to distinguished social success and general example. Our towns and cities are of course never utterly lacking in this spirit, for there is always some measure of good work done—yet conspicuous flower and worthy fruit are still too rare. Such developments appear often to radiate from some outstanding leader, deeply and fully civicised, as was Joseph Chamberlain in his earlier days for the service and progress of his home-city of Birmingham. Yet also this spirit may prevail widely throughout a corporation, which does well as a body and in its committees without such single salient leader—as seems more to have been the case with the no less notable progress of Glasgow in our time. Though such developed cases are still too rare, they happily do not stand alone. Something of each influence or type is more or less traceable in almost all our cities.

THE rise of the City Manager in the States, and with rapidly increasing demand for his services, is fully outlined by our author; but with hardly sufficient exposition of the kindred profession of *Bürgermeister* longer established among German cities; which, given the large and intelligent German element in America, has surely been suggestive and even influential. Anyway there this new system is, and as a spreading movement, which now bids fair to become general, being well judged by its increasing fruits, of which Prof. Whyte gives evidence.

AFTER an excellent little explanatory preface, our author, with cities and citizens, councils and managers, all clearly before his eyes, tells for all alike the story of half a dozen important and fairly typical American cities which have passed in comparatively recent years from a regime too much compounded of waste, extravagance, even corruption, to one of efficient city management. He gives a chapter to the methods, records and personalities of their respective managers, and thence discusses the type of representative official such new type of government has been producing, and also requires. Each story has thus a real social and individual interest—in fact it reads as the plot for a potential novel, and so indeed before long may help to suggest one: in fact at times it curiously recalls, albeit upon a very different sweep of the historic spiral, that presentment of Leonardo upon the scene of Florence, and yet more of Milan, now so magnificently staged by Mrs. Taylor, in her *LEONARDO THE FLORENTINE* lately reviewed. For though the names of Cleveland and Manager Hopkins, of Cincinnati and Kansas City, of Pasadena and Dayton, with their managers—Sherill, McElroy, Koerner, and others—have as yet to acquire the associations of a culture so magnificently triumphant for its times and so impressive even to this day, this concretely practical and thus prosaic book has true flashes of the like spirit. Thus he tells us—“Hopkins has a vision of the future Cleveland which runs on an almost imperial scale. It is in the development of the major lines of the strategy of town building for the future that he is primarily interested.” He says of himself, “There are two ways in which I can be of service to Cleveland: I can persuade men to work for me who would not otherwise serve the city: and I can take the lead in developing plans for the growth of the city.” Again, “the first step in his programme was to resume completion of the Mall, not because of its intrinsic importance, but on account of its psychological importance. (‘It was bad for the town to have an unfinished job in sight.’) Then he proceeded to drive vice and crime outside the city limits, and attempted even to pursue it into the adjacent communities.” Who but can see that such a man—little though he may know or care for Italian examples (if not even think them ‘Dagos’)—has something alike of the constructive spirit of Ludovico, of the persuasive leadership of Lorenzo, and of the puritan ardour of Savonarola as well. And in the next sentence—“Almost single-handed, he carried through the building of the Cleveland Air-port”—we see Leonardo (as the great engineer) *redivivus*; and so too when we read him as “credited with the campaign for pure air and water.”

AGAIN—“above all, the dominance of the manager was clinched by the character of the council elections of 1925. Democrats and Republicans alike declined to discuss issues of public policy; the two parties refused to compete with one another; every successful candidate except one endorsed the Manager, and all except the independents claimed as their chief merit that they had and would continue to support Hopkins. As a newspaper man remarked, ‘they all came in on the Manager’s coat-tails.’ Hopkins is reported to have said, ‘I have received a mandate from the people.’ It is reported

that after the election Maschke told the newly-elected Republican councilmen that Hopkins was in the saddle."

How this able manager has inevitably relegated the two mayors of his time to a secondary position—such as prime ministers have done for their kings, and this even long before constitutional days—is briefly told. And so too, how such management and development develop such a chief executive officer from the rank of an elected official to that of the needed efficient manager of a great business. His selection of administrative heads for his six main departments—law, finance, service, safety, health and welfare, and public utilities with parks and public property, is described, and not uncritically; and finally his relations to the press and public, obviously sympathetic, able and even winning. Our author sums up that such unorthodox predominance of the manager, judging from the experience of other cities, will probably be a temporary situation: so next he proceeds to interesting tales of the other five cities, and with the generally more constitutional attitudes of their managers, yet not without initiatives either. So too for other leading types; and thence to an interesting general discussion of the whole situation as now developing, as individuals in responsible association with their councils and citizens, and also as a great new profession, arising towards fuller and fuller efficiency and responsibility. An appendix shows the growth of the movement to city managers, from one in 1908, and three four years after, to nine in 1914, 27 in 1918, 34 in 1922, and to no less than 361 by 1927.

HERE then is a movement of a new social and even political character, from which future discussions and developments will radiate far. Still with much left implicit, and no doubt prudently, our author, as a professor of political science, also prepares us to consider more explicitly the importance of the main issues involved. Here already is little less than a social and political revolution, justifying itself and extending accordingly, in virtue of services to civic evolution. Not positively the collapse or abandonment of the modern representative system—yet its necessary readjustment to the superiority of the strong and able man, as many-sided expert, over councils and committees of amateurs. It is becoming apparent that the ship of civic state has too much been left to drift between vague gatherings of passengers and occasional threatenings (if not even mutinies) of crew, and these alike with too little knowledge of navigation or capacity for efficiency and control; so that as the advantages of efficient captaincy become realised, its adoption readily follows.

HERE then do we not see reappearing in our modern spiral that great oscillation which to the Greek cities became so manifest and conscious—that of their rule passing from the democracies to stronger hands, by the acceptance of the "Tyrannos," who so often gained his power, or maintained his place, as an eminent city manager. To co-ordinate is essentially to govern; and this more and more personally too—whence at times even to tyranny and despotism, in the later and surviving senses of these words. Here, however, let us hope our constitutional control of councils by referendum and criticism may be safeguards.

It is significant that Washington, as national capital, should have no democratic representative system, but an administration appointed from above. In France, too, each municipality and its mayor are much under their Prefect who is sent down from Paris, and so too easily functioning as a brake on local initiative and progress than as dynamic centre for it. In the cities of British

India useful progress is thus sometimes headed—as with the administration of Lucknow in recent years by an able “District Commissioner.” Yet at other times they may be led into disastrous enterprises and their failures, as with Bombay under its last Governor; while the creation of New Delhi, now increasingly realised as the most costly of metropolitan failures, has been strictly “imperial” and un-democratic throughout.

A VERY important element for the future, to which civic (like national) politics has in modern times too little inclined, is that of returning stress upon moral and cultural interests and their expression, and with corresponding influence upon the material and economic interests so long predominant. Thus in the old French city where this is being written, its quiet and substantial prosperity has too much been eclipsing its manifold cultural significance; yet its old university is again coming more to the front, and into municipal life as well, and with even economic success. The like reconciliation and co-operation of town and gown is nowadays also becoming manifest and effective in the Oxford City Council, from which new developments, economic and cultural by turns or together, may thus be expected before long; so the question arises before us, as students of social science, whether—as in the great days of Hellenic civilisation—our main political problem be not again that of cities and their development? At any rate here is one of those rare books which can be confidently and warmly recommended to townsmen and gowmsmen alike; since of service to the better understanding of cities present and even past, and suggestive towards our cities’ better future also. It deserves the widest possible circulation, since not only needed in municipal circles and services, but by all interested in the life, the duties, and the betterment of citizenship.

P. G.

THREE SOCIAL PIONEERS (KROPOTKIN, ELISEE AND ELIE RECLUS).

PETER KROPOTKIN: *The Rebel, Thinker and Humanitarian: Tributes and appreciations—Excerpts—Fragments from uncollected works—Miscellaneous Letters, and Illustrations: Compiled and edited by Joseph Ishill.* New Jersey. 1923.

ELISEE AND ELIE RECLUS: *In Memoriam: including tributes, appreciations and essays, &c. . . . fragments from letters, and over 60 woodcuts by Louis Moreau: Compiled and printed by Joseph Ishill.* Published privately at The Oriole Press, Berkley Heights, New Jersey. 1927.

HERE are two memorial books, each beautifully printed, and in pious remembrance, by an ardent disciple, Mr. Joseph Ishill. Both are well illustrated, mainly with portraits, by different artists or from photographs dating from different stages of each life. Pleasing head and tail-pieces, initials and headings in colour, good type, paper and binding—in fact fine artistry and craftsmanship throughout make these a most exceptionally distinguished pair of volumes. And as only small editions could be printed, and the type had to be distributed, the acquirement of such few copies as remain—and by wise librarians let us hope, rather than by mere collectors—cannot be too strongly recommended.

MR. ISHILL has been his own editor as well as printer, and has done all this single-handed—in his evenings after his ordinary day’s work and travelling to and from his city. His glowing yet modest little prefaces, as notably

"Reflections of a Proletarian," in the Reclus volume well deserve the first reading. Then comes "Essays, Tributes, and Appreciations" by many writers, followed by Extracts from Elisee's Letters, and next "Essays and Fragments by Elisee and Elie Reclus," and finally "Bibliographical Data." The earlier Kropotkin volume is on the same plan, so that what are practically very fairly complete biographical outlines are before us; and though each so far lacks the unity of single authorship, this is not a little compensated, and specially for such many-sided men, by the very unusual variety of recollections, of intelligent estimates, and of sympathetic appreciations of each personality and his life-work, and by nearly a hundred writers in all, each competent, and often illustrious. The extracts from letters, Elisee's and Kropotkin's especially, give us for each something of autobiography as well.

So far then this bare general outline of these admirable and beautiful books. But as privileged and honoured by almost life-long friendships with each and all of these three, it remains to express the most glowing satisfaction that such worthy memorials have appeared of these vital, strenuous and productive collaborators, alike towards the better knowledge of man and nature, and to the better and free-ordering of social life. No doubt, as the long range of history shows, each new social vision has at first excited some irascible minority or individual to deeds of violence, thereby widely alarming the public and delaying its appreciation of both message and its aim. So we can recall the popular dread and discredit which occasional futile anarchist bomb-throwings so widely aroused, and which were sometimes extended even to these three, albeit not only essentially sane and sound thinkers, but ardent moralisers as well. For the essential message of their "anarchism" was that appeal from the too external authority of state and police to the moral order within—so in fact the recalling, to a materialised world, the moral principles essential for its truer progress—the appeal from Caesar with his power and law to higher ideals, and with the clearly realised faith that "the Kingdom of Heaven is within you." In such spirit these worthy memorials have been undertaken, and their appearance is a hopeful sign that such vital and moral teaching has not been altogether eclipsed, even by the War and After-War, albeit each so much, in their worst sides, expressing the very opposite doctrines, which these admirable volumes are aimed to combat and transform. The appreciations of Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter, Henry S. Salt, H. W. Nevins, and the Cobden-Sandersons among British writers, and of Georg Brandes, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, and scores of other continental writers of knowledge and insight will be found not only to aid us in recalling those three eminent pioneers, but in realising the value and significance of their doctrine and message.

P. G.

TIME AND WESTERN MAN: by Wyndham Lewis. Chatto and Windus, London. 1927. (21s. nett.)

At a moderate computation Mr. Lewis has produced, in *TIME AND WESTERN MAN*, a volume of about 200,000 words. His reason for producing the volume is to expound the view that a peculiar doctrine about Time is very prevalent in our civilisation, and expresses itself not only in our science and philosophy, but in our politics, literature, art, and even amusements. Mr. Lewis is quite clearly alarmed about the ramifications of this doctrine of Time. He regards it, not as a harmless piece of abstract theory, but as rank heresy: and its expounders he treats not as academic doctrinaires, but as virtually

criminal offenders. He pours on them, indeed, a profusion of critical invective, philosophical argument, and dialectic, that leave the poor reader in a state of bewilderment.

THE First Part of the book, called "The Revolutionary Simpleton," is an amazing analysis of modern tendencies and products. It ranges from Charlie Chaplin to James Joyce, from romance and the Russian Ballet to Gertrude Stein and Anita Loos, from advertisement to Fascism. There is scarcely a page which does not illustrate the working of a gifted mind, fertile and imaginative, shrewd and original. The perception of resemblances is uncanny, the power of analysis is impressive, and the expression pungent, incisive, and invariably effective.

IN the Second Part there is a philosophical account of the doctrine of Time, which reveals the mind of Mr. Lewis in a less pleasing light. Frankly, I can make nothing either of the temper in which it is written, or of the substance in its argument. The reader will gather that Alexander is an arch-scoundrel, and that he and Bergson, Einstein, Russell, and Whitehead, all form some nefarious secret society to promote intellectual anarchy and Bolshevism. The reader might well imagine, too, if he is an amateur in philosophy, that the language of philosophers is mere verbal jugglery, devoid of any intelligible meaning. One must admire Mr. Lewis for the indefatigable thoroughness with which he pursues his task. Most names in philosophy are introduced at some point or other, even Aquinas, Freud, Croce, Leibniz, etc., etc., but the author returns again and again to the Big Five mentioned above, pausing in one place for an interval devoted to Spengler, on whose philosophy of history he pours a flood of sweeping invective and ridicule. At the end of the book there is a section called Conclusion, which indulges in a final burst of vituperation and abstruseness.

JUST to illustrate the temper of the writing, we may quote this passage, on page 210. Professor Alexander has stated somewhere that even Plato had the natural limitations of his age—a fairly obvious view, one would imagine. But Mr. Lewis returns to this statement again and again. Alexander, he says, is "heaving a patronising sign over the limitation of the Hellene. Even Plato was only a Greek: just as, for the White overlord, Buddha was once only a nigger, in fact." The mentality of an author who can expend such a distorted emotional reaction on this subject baffles me completely. Cheap sneers and cleverness seem ridiculous to those who have the privilege of profiting by the intellectual clarity and honesty of Alexander's speculations.

ON page 229, referring again to the same statement of Alexander, Mr. Lewis writes: "Either the person responsible for those words is something like a fool, or there must be some other explanation." There is certainly another explanation, but the courtesies of social life prevent one stating what it is to Mr. Lewis himself.

I REFUSE to take the so-called philosophical argument and sections seriously. There is no coherence or continuity, passage is piled on passage from all types of authors, and the language is often obscure, if not meaningless jargon. The effect is chaotic and bewildering, as if a mass of ill-digested fare had been presented by a capricious, bad-tempered undergraduate.

THE book as a whole, then, has nothing but its extraordinary literary criticism of the First Part to recommend it. The gifts which the author there reveals are apparently a barrier to the even, equable temper of genuine philosophy or science.

I. LEVINE.

A NEW VIEW OF A FAMOUS WAR.

EL MARISCAL SOLANO LOPEZ: by Juan E. O'Leary.

THIS is a book by a South American historian. The author has published several volumes of literary and historical works, and is one of the internationally best known Latin American writers. As shown by his name, he is of Irish descent, but Paraguayan from the maternal side. The work deals mainly with Francisco Solano Lopez, the President of Paraguay when the country was at war with the Triple Alliance formed by Argentine, Brazil and Uruguay. This conflict was one of the longest and bloodiest in history, in spite of the great inequality in population and geographical position between the contending parties. As it almost always occurs, the history of the war was mainly written by the victorious nations: those of the Triple Alliance, and these, naturally, tended to blame their vanquished enemies for the outbreak of the conflict and to present them as barbarians incited by the cruel despotism of their ruler.

IN this book, as in his other numerous historical writings, O'Leary has given the Paraguayan point of view about the origin of the conflict and the personality of the strong man undoubtedly Lopez was. He does so objectively, making frequent use of extracts from official and private documents of Argentine and Brazilian sources. The work covers 400 pages, and here we can make reference to but few of the questions covered by the author. And it must be said at the outset that he has succeeded in creating a great historical reaction about the thesis of the old allies, not only in the nations of Latin America that were neutral in the conflict, but also in the old allied countries themselves. He has achieved this in 25 years of effort, and the result is due to his objective method as well as to his brilliant literary style. To comprehend the remote and immediate causes of the war—the author maintains—one must know intimately the history of the River Plate countries and Brazil. Leaving aside the more remote causes and antecedents of the conflict, we can consider here only, and that very briefly, the immediate factors.

ONE of the main of such antecedents was the Treaty between Paraguay and Uruguay of 1850. By one of the basic stipulations of this treaty, Paraguay bound herself to consider as a *casus belli* any occupation of Uruguayan territory by a foreign power. The fundamental reason for this agreement on the part of Paraguay was the fact that Uruguay had guaranteed her the free navigation of the River Plate.

To understand and value this consideration, it must be borne in mind that it was a traditional policy of the Buenos Aires Governments to obstruct such free navigation, not only in relation to Paraguay, but also to the other and more northern provinces of the Argentine Confederation, such as Entre Rios and Corrientes. Among other impositions and vexations, Buenos Aires imposed taxes on the goods coming from or going to Paraguay and the provinces above mentioned. Now, before the great conflict with Paraguay, Uruguay was in possession of the island Martin Garcia, thereby dominating the main channel of direct access to the ocean. It was, thanks to this circumstance, that she could secure for Paraguay a free access to the sea. The independence of the first country, therefore, represented for the latter an essential condition for her free economic development and even for her national existence. Uruguay, on the other hand, could rely on Paraguay for the maintenance of her independence as against either Brazil or Argentine. Paraguay had, indeed, reached at the time a state of national organisation and economic progress unequalled in the River Plate.

As to Brazil, which then was under an imperial Government, she had once occupied and annexed Uruguay, but later this country gained her independence. Since then—and given the great importance of the Uruguayan geographical situation (at the mouth of the River Plate)—her policy tended to prevent Argentine from annexing the small but much coveted Uruguayan territory. Thus it was Brazil herself that suggested the signing of the 1850 Treaty between Uruguay and Paraguay. With the fall in Argentine of the strong Government represented by the tyrant Rosas and with the rapidly growing development of Paraguay, the Rio Janeiro Government changed her policy. Brazil, in effect, had a boundary question to settle with both Uruguay and Paraguay. Argentine on her side also had a long and important frontier dispute with Paraguay. But in view of the close understanding existing between the Uruguayan and Paraguayan Governments, neither Brazil nor Argentine, acting separately, could impose their decisions on the former. Argentine, furthermore, wanted for her own the island of Martin Garcia rightly occupied by Uruguay—inasmuch as it is situated indisputably on the Uruguayan side of the river. It was then to the interest of both the Brazilian and Argentine Governments to secure, if possible, control of the political situation of Uruguay. To this effect, and under one pretext or another, Brazil invaded the territory of Uruguay, and Argentine supplied arms and ammunition to General Flores, an Uruguayan political chief and personal friend of the then Argentine President, General Bartolome Mitre.

THE Uruguayan Government in the face of such combination of circumstances and, especially, of the military invasion by Brazil, claimed the aid of Paraguay, in view of the Treaty of 1850. Solano Lopez then invited the Brazilian Imperial Government not to make effective her *ultimatum*, offering mediation and stating that his Government could not consent to a military occupation of Uruguay. Brazil disregarded the Paraguayan offer and claim, and invaded Uruguay. Argentine, on her side, aided General Flores, in several ways, until his forces could overcome and oust the legal Government of his country. So Uruguay joined forces with Argentine and Brazil and formed the Triple Alliance. This vital change in the Uruguayan political situation very materially altered the outcome of the conflict, because Paraguay was compelled to face the war alone and especially without the direct outlet to the sea and to Europe which the alliance with Uruguay represented.

IN spite, however, of such a combination of strong and adverse circumstances, the three Allies had to fight during more than five years. That is, much more than Mitre, the Argentine President and head of the Allies army, expected, for at the beginning of the conflict in a famous proclamation he had stated that the Allies would enter the Paraguayan capital as victors in three months.

PARAGUAY lost more than 150,000 square kilometres of territory, as one of the consequences of the war, and Uruguay the island of Martin Garcia. And, really, only the strong rivalry of the two principal Allies, Argentine and Brazil, prevented their annexing both Paraguay and Uruguay. Brazil, in fact, was willing to let Argentine take the whole Chaco, but demanded as a compensation what is known as Eastern Paraguay, which is the richer and better part of the country. Argentine would not consent to such a partition, and so she was compelled to content herself with part of the Chaco and Misiones regions. The rest of the Chaco territory was submitted, as it is known, to the Arbitration of President Hayes of the United States. The award was unqualifiably favourable to Paraguay.

THE book in review, besides developing fully the foregoing reasonings and conclusions, also dwells on the personality of Lopez. He was not only of strong character but also a highly educated and progressive man. After some years of residence in Europe, he returned to Paraguay with three hundred technical men under contract for different professional occupations. It was with their aid that Solano Lopez laid down the first railway line (now the Paraguay Central Railway Company) in the River Plate Region, built ships that in those early years took Paraguayan products to Europe, exploited the country's rich ore mines, built the architectonical monuments that still adorn Asuncion, the capital city, and did much else for the country.

A FRENCH edition of the book is in preparation.

V. B. GALEANO.

THE RACIAL BASIS OF CIVILIZATION: by Frank H. Hankins.
Knopf, 1926. pp. x, 384.

THE most significant thing about this book is that it is a searching criticism of the so-called Nordic Theory, written by an author who leans to the side of heredity rather than environment. He deals faithfully with Gobineau, Chamberlain, Lapouge, Madison Grant, the egregious Lothrop Stoddard, and the latest champion of Nordic America, Professor William McDougall. He has no great difficulty in showing the precarious hypotheses on which these advocates of race have built, and the flimsy generalisations at which they arrive. It is a good critical study, strong both in the logic of its presentation and in the selection of relevant data. Although various authors have shown the fallacy of this type of racial doctrine, it was worth doing again in the comprehensive and systematic way in which Professor Hankins has treated it, and it was especially worth doing by an American author, since it is in America that the doctrine to-day has its most ardent advocates and its most direct repercussion on public policy.

PROFESSOR HANKINS supports his critical analysis by a positive contribution on the character of race, and it is this aspect of the work which will prove most interesting to sociologists. The concept of race at which the author arrives helps to clarify a difficult subject. He faces the difficulty that no one trait, whether physical or mental, is sufficient to distinguish one racial stock from another. Consequently, any particular trait, such as eye-colour or head-shape, can be attributed to a "race" only as a characteristic frequency distribution of the feature among its members. Even in extreme cases of contrast for any one trait our frequency curves will overlap, as is illustrated by the height measurement of American and Japanese soldiers. To arrive, then, at a race type, you must combine a number of traits with characteristic frequencies for a given group. "Thus the Baltic Teutonic and Nordic race is said to have tall stature; long hands; narrow noses; clear blue, green, or grey eyes; and blond hair. All these traits are variable, even the blue eyes, but the range of variation is nearly restricted in each case." Working on this principle, the author concludes that "the determination of race types in any given area (except long isolated ones) becomes a process of abstraction of traits from existing individuals, and their recombination into a generalised and ideal type represented by few or no individuals."

It should, however, be observed that this definition of race does not in any way solve the eternal problem of the respective influence of heredity and environment. It is not certain that the author fully comprehends this point. While he protests against McDougall's over-statement when he claims that "the environment which thus selects and moulds the enduring

elements is the sum of the native qualities of the people" (page 236), there are indications that the author himself comes fairly near to accepting this position, as in his treatment of negroes and whites in the United States. If we admit the influence of environment they did not make, whether physical or social, upon existing "races," we admit thereby that there is no standard by which we can statistically measure intrinsic racial quality. The employment of intelligent tests is, therefore, not adequate to distinguish the native quality of groups living under different conditions.

At one other point the author tends to go somewhat further than the evidence, so far, warrants. He speaks of the reduction of intellectual quality in our modern societies because of the reverse selection due to the disparate birth rates of the various strata of the population. There seems to be no conclusive evidence, so far, to this effect although, no doubt, the disparity is such as to cause a quite natural alarm. But, even in what may be a transitional stage, it is not accurate to say that the lowest economic strata—whether or not we assume that economic distinctions are some index of social fitness—contribute the most in the recruitment of the population. The report on fertility of marriage, which was, perhaps, the most interesting contribution of the English census of 1911, confirmed the idea that the highest economic groups have the lowest effective fertility, but it also showed that the important group of skilled artisans had as high an effective fertility as the lower economic groups consisting of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. Professor Hanks is inclined to assume, with the racialists, that the cause of decline of past civilisations was the exhaustion of racial genius. In view of the investigations, which have shown *inter alia* the significance of economic factors in past civilisations, such an hypothesis requires considerably more confirmation than it has yet received before it can be accepted as anything but an article of faith.

R. M. M.

A HISTORY OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN INDIA :

by A. S. Altekar. University of Bombay Economic Series No. 5. Oxford University Press. 1927.

If you want to understand India, you must begin by understanding and realising the life of an Indian village. The longer I have lived in India, the more I have felt that among the many changing things, the two which are most stable are the village community and the caste. Not that these remain unaltered, as was fondly imagined by Metcalfe and Maine. Village life remains the same in the sense that people still till their lands and sow their crops, though even here the methods in use are changing more rapidly than is often realised. But in other matters, the village community has altered and is altering, and, particularly in the British period, many of the most characteristic features of village organisation and life are now tending to disappear. In Western India, for instance, under the intense centralisation of the last eighty years, and the more recent tendency towards the industrialisation of the country based on a few large urban centres, the village headman has lost his importance, the village accountant has ceased to be hereditary, the village council no longer exists, the village *panchayat* obstinately refuses to be re-established, and the village fund has vanished. Yet, still, though they are shadows of their former selves, the villages, in Western and Southern India at any rate, remain the fixed centres of national life, and if every manufacturing town were wiped out, and every administrative district ceased to exist, their loss would make far less effect on the life of the nation than can be conceived by anyone who has grown up in the economic and social conditions of Western Europe.

THE study of village communities in India is a very old one, but there are few matters in which more far-reaching conclusions have been drawn from less real information. Sir Henry Maine, with a literary facility which makes his book *VILLAGE COMMUNITIES EAST AND WEST* one of the most charming social studies ever written, considered all Indian villages as a development of a joint holding, but the amount of data on which this view was based were very inadequate, and further study has shown that his speculation outran his facts. Baden Powell, whose very careful studies, almost entirely, however, in North India, showed that Maine's conclusions could not be maintained, is equally at sea in dealing with the *raiyatwari* villages of the Indian Peninsula. Since the time of these authors an enormous amount of information as to the history of the village community has become available. Some of this is due to the work of a group of scholars in the Deccan whose publications of original Maratha authorities has thrown so much light on every aspect of life in the Mohamedan and Maratha periods in Peninsular India. Further, the publication of many land grant plates in recent years has elucidated very largely the question of the relationship between the central governments and the villages, chiefly in Gujarat and Kathiawar, and in South India. Finally, the detailed local studies of villages as they actually exist at present, which have been conducted by Ranade, Mann, and others, have called attention to unexpected points in the corporate life of Indian villages. All these have made it possible now to form a much more reliable picture of the character and development of the village than was possible even twenty years ago. The time was therefore ripe for a general account of the subject and we welcome the present book, published under the auspices of the University of Bombay, as being a contribution of great value to our knowledge of the life of those self-contained communities which are characteristic of India, and, in the form described, of Western India.

HAROLD H. MANN.

"GOD REST YOU MERRY GENTLEMEN."

WE have known the rapier of the French mind: the little dark swordsmen, the long needle-blades that once beat down all weapons from Sicily to the Steppes—we have known them before, touching up a priest, a profiteer, a pedant. Lord, how they skipped as the darting steel pinked them. That sword has been picked up again and turned this time on the "Caftanes," "the men who deal in women," "organisers of the White Slave Trade," "traffickers in women and girls." How the English language, like the English mind, fumbles and boggles at the phrase! "Caftanes," says the Frenchman, and the rapier gleams in the hot sun of the Argentine.

WELL, we have tried another way before. We have had Part One (and Part Two, if you care to pay 7s. 6d.) of "The Report of the Committee of Experts on the Traffic in Women and Children," and all the judicial machinery of the League. And we saw from that the vague shadowy figures of the traffickers, hampered by the police, skulking down the streets. Here we have another way of dealing with the same problem—*THE ROAD TO BUENOS AYRES*, by Albert Londres, a journalist from *Le Petit Parisien*. His methods are different from those of the agents and the experts of the League. He brings us in to dinner with the "Caftanes," pleasant, serious men of business, intent on preserving the decencies, on the art of dining. They deprecate emotion, they hate untidiness, uncleanness, do Victor the

Conqueror, André Flag, Vacabana, Lu-lu. We see them in their cafés, in their cars, and we see, too, a Jewess from Poland and a door that opens and shuts seventy times a day. That figure "seventy" may well be borne in mind, and while we are on the subject of figures let us quote a sum from the author—

$$402 \times 5 = 2,010 \text{ pesos.}$$

The tariff is 5 pesos. This is the account of one girl for one week, and from it we understand a trifle better that little group dining so quietly in the restaurant at Buenos Ayres. We are forced to admire the grace with which the rapier is used, a touch here, a touch there and the caftane is forced to rise, to bend, to turn as our author wishes, so that we may sit at our leisure and study the creature in every pose, in every limb, while we listen to the suave, half-humorous lecture. The sword seems hardly to draw blood, almost to caress—until it flashes once and a black web is slashed from hem to hem and the horror stands naked in the sun.

"GIRLS who really want to enlist in those marching regiments will enlist whatever you do.

But the rest?

As long as women cannot get work.

As long as girls are cold and hungry.

As long as we allow the bully to take our place and offer the bowl of soup.

Burn the brothels and lay a curse upon their ashes.

You will have only made a bonfire and a futile demonstration.

The responsibility is ours: we cannot get rid of it."

GEOFFREY DAVIES.

THE FATHER IN PRIMITIVE PSYCHOLOGY: by Bronislaw Malinowski. Kegan Paul. (2s. 6d.)

THE PSYCHE MINIATURES are an admirable series of little books, admirable for this reason as well as for more obvious ones, that they do not offer us an excursion trip around the Universe of Knowledge for our half-crown, but an essay of an original type, by an expert, in his own field. This book of Professor Malinowski's, which is one of the best of the series, treats, in an excellent spirit of detachment and without any anxiety to make a theory or mar a rival's, of the attitude of a primitive matrilineal society to the position of the Father; more particularly, of the beliefs of the natives as to the part taken by the father in the procreation of children, and of their strange and stubbornly upheld view that there is no connection between sexual intercourse and conception. This view they sustain with the undeniable evidence that, although such intercourse is universal before marriage, yet the number of children born thus illegitimately is extremely small. Moreover, according to the author, it is almost certain that no methods of artificial control are used.

It is impossible in a few lines to indicate how great a light is thrown upon certain matters of critical interest in psychology by this little product of field anthropology—for here the title is rather misleading, seeing that the material is drawn only from the Trobriand Islands, which lie physically and ethnologically on the marches of Melanesia and Papua. One is once more reminded that these so-called "primitive" societies are really very elaborate affairs, that they are wedded, like our own, to an intricate whole of dogma,

which—and here, too, we must admit, the parallel still holds—has to be upheld even when clear evidence threatens some part of the whole. And in these islands, too, the Family stands out clearly as the living reality upon which pivots the life of the tribe—even in circumstances which to us, with our patrilineal society and our very different attitude to sexual licence, might seem rather hostile to it.

FOR, in spite of the theory which makes the husband physically quite irresponsible for the children, yet the ties between father and son are very strong, at least in childhood; later, however, the Mother's Brother begins to come into prominence, taking upon himself all the economic rights and duties of parenthood and leaving those of sentiment alone to the Father, and there is a certain ill-adjustment in this dual influence, which is perhaps heightened by the fact that marriage, although matrilineal in most features, is patrilocal.

ONE cannot close without paying a tribute to the author's extraordinary skill, discernible here as in his other books, in getting down to the innermost feelings and beliefs of individual natives, and to that refreshing quality of discerning courtesy, that avoidance of the two evil extremes of prejudice and sentimentality, which, with other more theoretical qualities, place him among the very first of modern anthropologists.

J. A. Y. M.

TALKS TO PARENTS AND TEACHERS: by Homer Lane: with an Introduction by Dr. A. A. David, Bishop of Liverpool. George Allen and Unwin. (5s. nett.)

WHEN Homer Lane left England for good he was understood to be going to do some writing. Under pressure from friends he had projected two books, one on the treatment of children and another on the "re-education" of adults. Some hint of what we have lost by his early passing may be gathered from this little volume of lectures and fragments of his posthumously collected. It is also a great consolation, for it is packed with wisdom, and, if I may say so, very well arranged. Mr. Symonds and Mr. Osborne have earned a great meed of congratulation and thanks. I venture to recommend it to all students of sociology, even those who are neither parents nor teachers—to all, in fact, who are interested in social progress, and want to understand the path to the freedom of the spirit as well as the obstacles on that path.

How many of us have realised the crucial importance of the right nursing and intelligent weaning of children, and the calamities that arise from blunders in these stages? Reading this book makes one wonder how many apparently full-grown people have never been fully weaned, and whether, indeed, any of us can claim to have completed that process quite satisfactorily! One feels also that unintelligent, unsuccessful weaning is one of the graver causes which make calamity of so long life.

It may be well to quote at some length on this matter.

SUCCESS with weaning means success for the child in later life—capacities for social service which will be well developed. The dull child at school is the child who has had a soother or has relapsed into long thumb-sucking, through lack of interests in infancy. He will probably still suck his thumb over difficult lessons, which shows that he has not learnt to adjust himself to new problems in the present, but prefers to go backwards to the old satisfactions of the past.

ANY child who has unsatisfied desires of this primitive, instinctive kind has desires which last for life. Thus there may be, for instance, an over-development later on, of possessiveness, of the desire to have and to hold pleasure, and that an unattainable

pleasure. For not only will there be both a desire for pleasure rather than for action, for getting or for storing up rather than for doing and creating, but, further, the pleasure which is at any time desired will, though it may be achieved, never fully satisfy; for it is only a symbol of that original pleasure which, being lost once, is unobtainable always. Another form of difficulty which may be caused later in life by this unsatisfied desire for mother's breast is a neurotic dissatisfaction with one's vocation and work; nothing satisfies, one has always made the wrong choice, the other thing would have been the right thing. Or, again, the originally unfulfilled and always postponed desire for mother's breast may lead to a postponement of all hopes of vocational success till heaven, on the other side of this poor vale of tears (pp. 40-41).

CLOSE-FISTEDNESS, exaggeration of material values, even insanity, even, in certain cases, imbecility, may result from abrupt weaning and suppressed "wish for a return to the emotional state of childhood." But regressive tendencies must not be suppressed. "Violent measures are never good."

IN this book the child's life is divided into—"Infancy," from birth till about 3 years of age; the "age of Imagination," from 2 or 3 to about 7; the "age of self-assertion," from about 7 till about 11; the "age of loyalty," first a stage of transition, from about 11 to 14, then the stage of "adolescence" till about 17. Pass to the "age of self-assertion." Lane is much in favour of "the withdrawal of prohibitions" and of affording opportunities for "the creative kind of self-assertion." Then, as to play:

IN most private schools play-time and play activities are much too highly organised, when the child has not yet reached the proper age for team loyalties of the organised kind. Children of under ten or eleven should still have much freedom to work out their own activities. Organised games belong to the age of loyalty. If schools would forget the ritualising of games and books, and would allow children absolute freedom to sort themselves out and to develop their own activities, we should have a very different type of adult, more love of country and less patriotism. Unless the foundation is well laid by a freedom in group play to show off, then showing off persists through life, and develops into fantasies of grandeur. (pp. 99-100).

THIS Age of Self-Assertion is "an age of conflict between dependence and independence, between the love of mother's apron-strings and the love of adventure." Insubordination "is his way of serving his fellows."

WE can see here his definite efforts to get free from parental authority. But when suppressed he falls back on mother, on regressive pleasure of some one kind or another; and the fundamental problem of life is to win this independence from the mother. If he emerges from the period successful, he will be happy in his relations afterwards to authority, because he will have true self-consciousness—that is, he will have a self of which to be conscious, and which will be self-determined. Otherwise he will be self-conscious in the false use of the term which is so common—conscious, that is, not of his own self, but always of what he thinks that other people are thinking about his self. In this latter case it is 'authority'—outside opinion, imposed ideas, imagined condemnations—of which he will always be conscious. 'Authority,' which has misunderstood him when he was aggressive, will now remain as his foe, spoiling his adjustments to life and spoiling his happiness, confidence and ardour. (pp. 101-2.)

BUT his real "foe" through life, as pointed out in a footnote, will be internal. Then, in the Age of Loyalty (about 11 and upwards) "self-government must be given, both in the team play of games and still more in a team play made possible for work" (pp. 109-110). But this latter "must not centre round the preventive idea of keeping discipline,"

for that will turn energy back to assertive tendencies and to a finicky interest both in making rules for order and in detecting offenders; any interest which is primarily in suppressing disorder has its psychological centre in the wrong place. The responsibility must be not preventive but creative. The form-group must be an executive, not a police-court; it must have positive choices to make. We must give responsibility for, say, history, and get the class to discuss the syllabus and the allotment of time to the parts of it, and to assume responsibility for getting through it. Some

such form of self-government is essential to the development of character and personality, for there can be no harmony where the social instincts are untrained and where the only stimulus to academic work is competition or the teacher's approval. If schools are not organised to give this kind of self-government to groups, much self-love will be left over unexhausted; yet for future health this must be worked out. Till parents take the trouble to examine the social organisation of schools, the development of their children will be arrested. (p. 110.)

SURELY a passage to be pondered over by parents, school administrators and teachers—as well as politicians.

BUT here is not only educational and social psychology, but also philosophy. Witness pp. 177-8:—

ALL organic life may be represented as a wish. Man, the highest form of life, is in himself the product of the cumulative wishes of all organic life in past ages. Man is the embodiment of the master-wish for perfection of the universe, and is therefore essentially good. The motive-power of goodness is love, and love is compulsory. If a man does not love mankind and the universe, he is not true to his nature. Man does not choose to love; he must love.

If he hates, his behaviour is untrue to himself, to mankind and to the universe, but the energy is still love, for his act of hatred is love perverted. The hateful act is destructive of the man's self, and also of the happiness and welfare of mankind, thus retarding the perfection of the universe. It is wholly unnatural.

THE loving act is hopeful behaviour, the hateful act is fearful behaviour. But he who serves his fellow-man by effort of will is making love a virtue. Love is not a virtue; it is natural to mankind.

ACCORDING to his conception of authority, man will either progress towards perfection, obeying the master-wish, or regress to the primitive. The only true authority is love, and the only true discipline is founded upon hope. The authority that is based upon force will transform love into hatred and hope into fear.

If a man's love be not extended to all mankind and all communities, he cannot be completely happy, for love is dynamic and universal. Any distrust or fear of another community than his own will infect his own community with hatred and destroy its harmony. For hatred makes a community sick, as it makes each human being sick. Every man must choose for himself. No man can be compelled to love, for love is itself the highest form of compulsion.

To end with a personal note. Homer Lane's work in this country was not long—a matter of about twelve years perhaps. But in that time he did much for us—very much. By lectures and talks, and by his practical demonstration at the Little Commonwealth (a tremendous success for all its tragic end) of what a reformatory school might be, as well as by work with individuals, he sowed seed in many grateful minds and spread abroad enlightenment which will doubtless be reflected in days to come in the activities of thousands who never knew him. Pondering over the great debt we owe him, the mind travels back to the time of the founding of the Little Commonwealth and before, and one remembers the founder who brought Homer Lane to this country, and that to the Earl and Countess of Sandwich, too, our debt is not to be measured.

A. St. J.

THE NEW SPIRIT IN RUSSIA AND INDIA.

ACCORDING to Dr. René Füllöp-Miller, in his new book, *LENIN AND GANDHI* (Putnam, 21s.), the mid-nineteenth century gave birth to two giants who, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, have played a big part in influencing the new outlooks of the East and the West. Their names are Lenin and Gandhi. The one was born in 1869 the other in 1870. The author compares their personalities, careers, aims and ends. He notes remarkable resemblances and equally remarkable differences. In his view they are the greatest figures of contemporary history, both supreme leaders, both revolutionists, both liberators, both anti-capitalists, both actuated by one ideal, liberation for the masses, both products of the time, or of the

masses of the time, apart from whose memory, aspiration and needs they cannot be considered. Both are intimately concerned with new social conditions, new social structure and organisation and discipline, and with the attainment by the common people of the enjoyment of the richness and fulness of life in the best of all worlds—on the one hand the material world of Bolshevism; on the other the spiritual world of love and self-denial. Both lead simple lives and practice self-denial for the aims they have in view. They are alike in other ways, but these are the principal ones.

THE differences are mainly those due to heredity, personality, physique and training, factors which affect their vision and method. Lenin is the outcome of political and social revolutionary forces and circumstances. He may be said to be the dominating figure thrown up by the Russian phase of the social change introduced by the French revolution. It was a time when Russia appeared a shocking shambles. His personality is moulded by the fatalism, hardness, brutality, persistency, the bitterness produced in Russia by revolutionary leaders by the Laocoon-like struggle between the autocracy and the masses. Indeed, he exhibits all the characteristics of a veritable child of the revolution to whom the gift of leadership has been given. In physique he was undersized, comparatively frail, but compact with lava-like energy. He studied incessantly the philosophy and politics of revolution. He was never happy apart from his books, never contented unless flinging revolutionary pamphlets broadcast, or organising burning labour sheets. His letters suggest that he cannot separate himself from such activities. In one he tells a friend that he has just launched his beloved paper "Proletarian." In the next he says, "I am neglecting the 'Proletarian' on account of my passion for philosophy." It was his passion for reading that led him to spend half his time in public libraries, of which the British Museum Library was one. But after the first 1917 or all-Russia revolution, he came more into the open and we find him addressing huge meetings, but with cold logic and not with burning eloquence. In consequence, he never swayed Russia's 150,000,000 with the magic of personality, and words as Gandhi swayed India's 300,000,000. He swore like a bargee at the stupid illiterate peasants whose conservative attitude forced from him in 1922 the New Economic Policy. Trained as a strict Marxian he accepted the doctrine of economic materialism as the foundation of a proletarian society, he believed in class-struggle as the means to attain a Workers' Paradise, and in immediate world-revolution as a means of disposing of the capitalist class. But the practical side of him, and his acquaintance with conditions set up by the post-Marxian financial period—conditions of which Marx knew nothing—led him to put his own interpretation upon Marx's theories of value, the State, and of revolutionary policy which he rested upon the State theory. He substituted, for example, the Soviet for the State. Dr. Miller notes that Gandhi, like Lenin, makes it his chief concern to "transform ideas into facts." Thus Gandhi regards himself as a "practical idealist." What chiefly actuated Lenin was the thought of Bolshevism in our time, which seems to be as much a bogey as the thought of Socialism in our time is in England. In short, Marx was concerned with a dream; Lenin said, "Let's realise the dream!"

LENIN is given all the attributes of a brain; Gandhi, all those of a spirit. Herein is the great difference between the two. We are led to picture Gandhi as a re-incarnated Saint turned modern reformer. The word "revolutionist" is used. It is not an appropriate one, for to-day it is closely associated with violence. Gandhi abhors violence. He prefers persuasion, which is probably the very greatest instrument of conversion,

It is no wonder, therefore, that he condemns Bolshevism and opposes himself to Lenin, who believed so strongly in bloody revolution as a means of securing in the names of the masses the domination of the civilised world. It is instructive to note at this point the different attitude of these two leaders towards Tolstoy. In one of his letters Lenin says, "With regard to Tolstoy, I entirely agree with you that the hypocrites and scoundrels will make a saint of him. Plekhanov, too, is furious about this toadying to Tolstoy." Gandhi sees in the teachings of the Russian writer, in all that Lenin hated, indisputable evidence of a mind with the fine ethical qualities of his own mind. He, in fact, accepted the Gospel according to Tolstoy, its assertion of non-resistance, its exaltation of love where violence too long has been, as the true means to destroy the power of evil.

GANDHI is the outcome and, one may say, the true representative of the old-new Spirit of India, the Spirit that goes far back to an age when Indian philosophy and thought were the two greatest things in the world, and is now being renewed in the present movement towards purging India of foreign evil. He is spirit-like in physique, small, frail, apt to be broken by the least materialistic wind, yet possessing a cosmic energy and a sweetness that bewitches every sense of those whom his personality touches. He is described as "A messenger of God," "A Redeemer." He is ever moved by the doctrine, "Ahimsa" ("thou shalt not kill"). He has extreme ascetic views of marriage and sex. Like Lenin, he places food first as a "revolutionary" motive. "The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food," was his reply to those who accused him of showing little appreciation for art production. To him, food, the first in order of the five fundamental human needs, of which shelter is the second, is a present instrument of liberation. He seeks to liberate India from the grip of the materialistic civilisation of the West. Like Lenin, he sees a method in industrialisation, with this difference. Lenin worshipped the machine and mechanised industry. Gandhi will have nothing to do with the machine. He is a sort of "Machine Stormer," willing and anxious to destroy the abomination of which Ruskin and Morris complained. He stands for hand-industry as being most suited to the requirements and the independence of the Indians. He initiated the present-day worship of the spinning wheel, and this largely as a means of carrying out his political policy of non-co-operation. Let India learn to feed and clothe itself by means of weaving, and it will soon learn to rid itself of debasing Western influences. But though he is aware that the Indian people may attain liberation by shaking off parasitic growths, he is also aware that reform must start at home. The Indian people must shake off the disunity in their midst and form a harmonious whole, such as Lenin wanted the various peoples of Russia to do. They must unite against their enemies. Above all, there must be unity in the "great fight against the materialist civilisation of the West."

DR. MILLER's book provides a comparison which is full of interest and suggestion, and particularly valuable at a moment when both India and Russia are in the forefront of Western and Eastern politics.

It would be instructive to sum up each character in words. While Lenin may be described by a dozen or so words with harsh and metallic sounds, words suggesting violence and a mechanical civilisation, such as Marxism, materialism, war, revolution, class-struggle, mechanisation of industry, of agriculture, Bolshevism, collectivism, and so on, Gandhi may be described wholly by beautiful words, such as love, divine, hope, harmony, eloquence, faith, joy, radiance, sympathy, nobility, happiness, purity, liberty, and the rest.

HUNTLY CARTER.

METHODS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

JACQUES VALDOUR. LES METHODES EN SCIENCE SOCIALE.

Etude Historique et Critique. Paris: Rousseau et Cie. 1927.

HERE is a convenient and suggestive introductory volume, renewed from a not infrequent retrospective type, usefully revived for current readers. For after a defence and insistence on methodology, as in these times far too much neglected, we are offered a series of summaries, mostly fairly well outlined, of most of the leading approaches and viewpoints of social studies throughout their history. First, those of subjective character, classified (1) as creations of the imagination, as by Plato, More and Campanella; and again (2) of mingled imagination and reasoning, as with Rousseau. Next (3) Fourier, with his active imagination strengthened not only by his rationalism, but by psychological considerations, often of value: while with these (4) St. Simon combined an outlook and aspiration humanly religious. In this subjective world also, (5) the anarchists are assigned their place, though with little appreciation of their best.

WIDELY interesting and stimulating though have been each and all of these essentially subjective treatments, social science must be solidly based on objective treatment, with its needed directness of observation. Yet this has been at first, and indeed usually, but partial; whence a corresponding review of essential viewpoints, traced broadly from Greek thinkers and through mediæval times to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with their illusions of gold-wealth and mercantilism; and thence to the eighteenth century, in which Law with his pioneering of credit, the Physiocrats with their fundamentally agrarian outlook, and Adam Smith with his appreciation of industry and commerce, mark the essential advances; while nearer our own times, economics has next gained by methods of greater precision, statistical and mathematical especially.

TARDE's psycho-sociologic method is well outlined, but less so the positivistic, as organised by Comte and partially continued by Spencer, though the outline and criticism of Durkheim are more elaborated. The biological method with its comparisons of organism and society, as by Schæffle, Worms, &c., is of course noticed; as also Fouillée's bio-rational method, his "contractual organism"; though no mention is made of his "idées-forces," nor yet of the important life-doctrine of his brilliant pupil and surpasser, Guyau.

HENCEFORWARD we come to the main merit of this book, its insistence that our methods of observation of social facts have to be direct and complete, and thus analytico-synthetic. Hence brief appreciations of historical and statistical methods generally: and thence more particularly of the monographic labours of Le Play, and their further development by de Tourville (and Demolins with the group and review, *LA SCIENCE SOCIALE*). Finally, the author claims attention to his own concrete method, that of observations lived through; though here their outline is unfortunately too brief and abstract, since needing reference to his other publications not before us, as notably *LA VIE OUVRIÈRE, OBSERVATIONS VÉCUES*. Unfortunately our author seems to have read nothing in or from the English-speaking world since Smith and Ricardo for economics, or Spencer for social science; yet it is thus encouraging to note that he has been independently reaching viewpoints and treatments long urged in our own Society and its REVIEW since their very origins; and feeling the need of surveys and their methods, for so many past years in progress in Britain and America alike: and with their various practical applications, social and educational, regional and civic. It is satisfactory, too, to feel that he realises that thought is aided and advanced in the measure of our participation in active life: *vivendo discimus*.

P. G.

THE SETTLEMENTS AND ROADS OF SCOTLAND: by Grace Meiklejohn. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 1927. (7s. 6d.)

THIS little book is a record of journeys over Scotland and of observations on two main aspects of its human geography. The book which, as the author says, is mainly descriptive in method, does not attempt any large generalisations but it contains a number of interesting examples of features and factors which show "man's utilisation of the region." The routes followed by both roads and railroads, are described, and mention is made of their relations with settlements. The work has been confined to the mainland and follows the divisions commonly used by geologists and geographers. I. North (or rather N.W.) Highlands; II. Midland Valley; III. The Central Highlands; IV. The Southern Uplands, stretching from II. to the English border and the Solway Firth.

THE Northern Highlands are shown first because they show less the influence of transformation, and their human geography appeared to be simpler. This is followed by a study of the Midland Valley in which an analysis is made (with a small map) of the distribution of population within and without Burghal Areas, and a discussion of its relation to agriculture and industry. From this the author returns to the Highlands and takes the Central portion. This division is perhaps a pity, and more might have been gained by treating the Highlands as a whole and comparing, over one "natural region," the increasing effects of modern life as one neared the Lowlands and its cities. Moreover, though holiday-making from the Midland Valley has certainly altered the nearer Highlands and Clyde-Forth industry, and its employment market and its education still more, the effects of a political, proprietary system centred at London have been no less important, and, still further afield, the factors of imperial development with its emigration to the colonies, voluntary or other, and the raising of the Highland Regiments. At the same time a student of the Highland could hardly be asked to give a complete, separate account of these causes; clear reference to relevant factors from outside would be enough.

THE interest of such a geographic work to social studies lies in the clearness with which it analyses geographical environmental factors in a situation, and clears the field for the study of social factors. More might have been done along these lines in the present work, and we disagree with the assumption that the interest of human geography lessens with the development and diversity of the activities of mankind.

FOR example, the writer remarks that "the roads of a lowland area, generally speaking, lack the geographical interest of roads in a highland region." Topography certainly counts less in a lowland region, and the geographical cause is more overlaid by others, but it is there. It is essential to the sociologist, if he is to unravel the social or ethnic reasons that have gone to make such a route, to know what measure of geographic opportunity or limitation met the road-makers in the first instance, or meet them to-day as alterations arise. The geographer on his part has the added difficulty of historic or human factors to separate out from the others, but surely the difficulties may add to the interest of the work, more than they take away? It is here, moreover, that his work may be most valuable by sifting out the geographical factors from the complex whole.

A. G.

Owing to pressure on space it has been found necessary to hold over the usual lists of books and periodicals received.

In the footnote on page 90 of this issue the words "M. and Mme. Charles Rives Aude" should be read "M. and Mme. Charles Rives, Aude."—Ed., *SOC. REV.*